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18 DECEMBER 1986

CHINA REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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EASTERN EUROPE

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

LIAOWANG PROFILES POLISH LEADER JARUZELSKI

HK080803 Beijing LIAOWANG in Chinese No 39, 29 Sep 86 p 8

[Article by Zhu Chengjun [4555 2110 6511]: "Polish Leader Jaruzelski"]

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party and chairman of the Polish Council of State, made a work visit to China in late September. This was the first visit of a Polish leader to China in more than 20 years.

Jaruzelski has been in power for 5 years, and has become a famous figure in the world because of his special role in handling the incident of the Solidarity Trade Union and stabilizing the Polish situation.

Jaruzelski is a career military officer. He was born in 1923 to an intellectual family in Kuwafu [1655 3907 1133] Ward, Lublin Voivodship. He joined the Polish Army founded by the Soviet Union in 1943 and participated in the battles of liberating Warsaw and the battles on Ord River and Elbe River. After World War II, he entered the military academy to study and successively took the posts of division commander, director of the General Political Department, and chief of staff of the Polish Army. He was appointed to be minister of defense in 1968 and was promoted to be Army general in 1973.

He is tall and has a broad forehead. He speaks with a low and steady intonation. He always wears a pair of sunglasses, and has a serious appearance. He seldom meets with foreign reporters or talks with them. According to one of his close friends, although Jaruzelski is a reticent person, he has a warm heart toward other people, especially his subordinates.

Jaruzelski became prime minister in February 1981. At that time, the labor trouble in Poland continued for 6 months. The situation in Poland was turbulent; the Polish economy is declining; and the public was deeply upset by the social unrest. Under these circumstances, as a prime minister, he shouldered heavy responsibilities.

As a government head, Jaruzelski consistently carried out the social reform line of his party and the policy of settling social conflicts through negotiations. He held that only reform can rescue Poland's

economy, which was on the brink of collapse. He advocated that the church should be separated from politics and that the church and the government should respect each other. He firmly maintained the position of the party and the government toward the Solidarity Trade Union and also adopted some flexible approaches.

In October 1981, he replaced Kania as first secretary of the party Central Committee. At that time, the domestic situation in Poland had become very serious, and the Solidarity Trade Union was sharply confronted with the government and the conflicts were intensifying. The whole world, both the East and the West, focused attention on the state of events in Poland. Jaruzelski held that Poland's policy must be formed in light of the realities in Europe and in the world and must be in line with the stability of the entire European mainland. Poland is a sovereign country, so "Poland's issues must be solved by the Polish people themselves." On 13 December 1981, he announced the imposition of the rule of martial law and the ban on the Solidarity Trade Union. The Polish authorities then arrested most leading members of the trade union. He explained that this measure is for the purpose of terminating "the fratricidal conflicts" and preventing the country from collapsing.

In the field of foreign policy, Jaruzelski's main headache in recent years is Poland's relations with the United States. After Poland adopted martial law, the United States imposed economic sanctions and caused economic losses to Poland. Jaruzelski expressed his willingness to improve relations with the United States many times, but he also emphasized that Poland will not yield to any external pressure. He adheres to the principle that the normalization of Polish-U.S. relations must be on the basis of the United States respecting Poland's sovereignty, stopping interfering in Poland's internal affairs, and maintaining equality in the two countries' bilateral relations.

People do not know too much about his private life. He likes horseriding and regards it a good way of rest. His wife works with the Warsaw University. They have a daughter.

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CSO: 4005/162

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

WRITER BAI HUA VISITS SOVIET UNION

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 6 Sep 86 p 14

[Article by Xiang Zhuang [7309 8369]: "Bai Hua Visits the Soviet Union"]

[Text] Bai Hua [4101 2901] is finally allowed to go abroad, but the destination of his visit is the Soviet Union. Apparently, the higher-ups still do not quite trust him and he also seems to be not so enthusiastic about his first trip abroad.

In the past few years, Bai Hua has received invitations from the United States and France, but he has not been approved to go. This shows the impact the "Unrequited Love" has made on the leading body of the Chinese Communist Party. "You love your motherland, but does your motherland love you?" This is an unreserved, penetrating criticism. Although the current leading body is against the cultural revolution or even Mao Zedong, it still cannot carry this cross.

When interviewed on the visit to the Soviet Union, Bai Hua said: "I thought since I could go out, I would go because the results of visiting people in downtown or rural areas are, after all, different. Apparently, he likened the Soviet Union to rural areas and the west, downtown areas. He also mentioned that "The position of the Hong Kong area is very important."

Bai Hua made some favorable comments on the literary and art policy of the Soviet Union. He said: the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has always approved the expression of family ethics and even humanitarian sentiment in literary and artistic works. Lately, there have been talks about lifting the ban on "Doctor Zhivago," but he could not comprehend why the Soviet Union rejects western symphonies.

As for the relaxing of the literary and art policy of the Communist Party of China, he gave cautious approval. He described the literary functions and the techniques of expressions in current mainland China as going from unitary to diversified. For instance, unlike the past when for a long time writers were allowed to write only in a serious manner, today, they can do humorous writing.

For an outstanding patriotic writer (genuine, not parenthesized) like Bai Hua, the Communist Party of China ought to give him total freedom and let him do whatever he wants so that he can cultivate a higher level of "artistic mind." They should not be afraid that he might do what Yu Luojin [6657 5012 6930] did--asking the West for political asylum--because they may be able to keep his body but not his mind. They should let nature takes its course. Besides, it is impossible for a country to constantly prevent its people from fleeing.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

DENG XIAOPING'S LINE FOR CHINA'S REFORM DISCUSSED

Hong Kong PAI HSING [THE PEOPLE] in Chinese No 128, 16 Sep 86 pp 5-7

[Article by Zhang Rong [1728 2837]: "Deng Xiaoping's Line and the Chinese-style Reform; A Discussion on the 6th Plenary Session of 12th CPC Central Committee"]

[Text] The 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee will be held in Beijing within the last 10 days of this month, during which, the Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Guiding Principles for Building a Socialist Society with an Advanced Culture and Ideology will be adopted along with the drafting of the agenda for next year's 13th CPC Congress and the list of candidates for central committee membership will be drafted. As we understand, the coming plenary session will touch on certain aspects of the task of accelerating the economic structural reform next year. The high-level CPC leaders are also keenly feeling the necessity and urgency of the political structural reform which has raised many outcries in and outside the mainland. Because of its complex nature and the many issues involved, a political structural reform calls for great caution. Apparently, the leading CPC members did not clearly define the scope of or work out the specific plan for this reform during the sultry days when they met at the "summer resort," Beidaihe. That was why Deng Xiaoping announced that the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee will not have time to discuss the issue of a political structural reform, although certain aspects of it may be taken up. The writer of this article believes that since this statement was made by Deng Xiaoping, the helmsman of China's political future, its authoritative nature is beyond question. Thus certain signs of the Sixth Plenary Session's "main thrust" are in the offing.

Modern Civilization, Relaxed Atmosphere

On his inspection tour to Qinghai Province at the end of August, Hu Yaobang, General Secretary of CPC Central Committee, said that the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee would soon be convened, and that one of the items on the agenda would be the examination and discussion of the "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Guiding Principles for Building a Socialist Society with an Advanced Culture and Ideology." He believed that this resolution would have a profound influence on cultural and ideological developments, just as the Decision of the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC

Central Committee on Reform of the Economic Structure had on material development.

High-level CPC leaders believe that "open windows will let in flies." Since the "open and reform" policy was implemented in the mainland several years ago, the imperfection of some policies and the conflicts between the new and the old mechanism of economic management, which were simultaneously at work, created some loopholes which were taken advantage of by unscrupulous people for personal gains. Bribery, speculation and profiteering, and the practice of under-the-counter dealings through personal relationship severely poisoned the social atmosphere. Unhealthy tendencies in the CPC also became rampant. That was why the party launched the "rectification movement" at the beginning of this year. The cultural and ideological development according to the "Resolution" this time is in fact a continuation of the "five stresses, four points of beauty, and three loves" movement which has been going on in the mainland for several years, although its substance will be expanded to include "education in the common ideal," "raising the ethical standards," and "developing democracy and strengthen the legal system." Of course, it also affirms the guiding role and position of Marxism and sets the tasks for and the demands on the party and its members.

As we understand, at a meeting of the Secretariat of the Central Committee held immediately after the conclusion of last year's National Conference of Party Delegates, it was decided that the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee should discuss and adopt the "Resolution on Strengthening Cultural and Ideological Development." Later, a group was organized to draft the required documents. The "solicitation of comments" was adopted at the meetings held by the Secretariat and the Politburo in Beidaihe this summer. Then at the end of August and the beginning of September, this document was distributed to various departments of the party Central Committee, to the party organization members of various ministries and commissions under the State Council, and to the party standing committees of all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions for discussion. Many democratic parties and groups, mass organizations, and minority nationalities, and hundreds religious leaders and well-known scholars read the draft of the "Resolution," took part in the discussion, and expressed their views on its revision. In the past several years, before holding any important meeting or making any important policy decision, it was customary for the CPC to invite people in various circles outside the party to report on the relevant conditions and to discuss the relevant issues as a gesture of cooperation.

According to information revealed, the "Resolution" will reaffirm the need for "well-educated and self-disciplined socialist citizens with lofty ideals and moral integrity" as the guiding principle, and "to raise the ideological and ethical standards as well as the educational and scientific levels of the whole nation" as the basic task. It demands that along with the development of material civilization, the all-round reform, and the open-door policy, a corresponding cultural and ideological development is necessary, and that everything should be done "to unite the people and bring their socialist enthusiasm and initiative into play, to meet their cultural and intellectual needs, to raise their ideological and ethical standards, and to develop education, science and culture."

To those who are concerned with the mainland's political situation, careful observation will reveal that from the late 1970's to the early 1980's, people in the literary and arts and theoretical circles have frequently resorted to such "leftist" methods as criticizing "bourgeois liberalization," while the movement to "clear away ideological contamination" imposed restrictions even on what people wear in their daily life. All this created an uneasy "sense of an impending crisis." This time, the obvious purpose of "cultural and ideological development" is to eliminate the element of man-made instability and to create a relaxed and harmonious atmosphere with stress on morality and modern civilization so as to end people's uneasiness and to "supplement" economic construction.

#### The Persons Holding State Power during the Change-over from the Older to the Younger Generation

Recently, Deng Xiaoping once again openly expressed his inclination to retire completely from the political stage at the "13th CPC Congress" next year. In the history of the CPC over the past 65 years, Deng Xiaoping was the first to advocate abolition of the system of lifelong tenure and the introduction of a system of retirement. He said: "My retirement before my death may be advantageous to the continuance of current policies. This is my long cherished personal conviction." However, this suggestion met with a chorus of opposition from people at all levels in the party, and even the people in all walks of life outside the party seemed unwilling to accept it. Hu Qili [5170 0796 4539], Permanent Secretary of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, has openly announced that some veteran revolutionaries who enjoy high prestige and command universal respect will continue to remain in their leading posts.

In fact, according to his ideas and foresight, Deng's primary concern is with the continuance of the "open and reform" policy and the attainment of the goal of modernization, while his remaining in or retiring from office as a personal matter is only a secondary consideration. If a person of 82 has to perform the state's important tasks, the weight of his responsibility can be easily imagined.

We can anticipate that the question of Deng's remaining or retiring will be discussed at the Sixth Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee. Furthermore, Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang, who are nearly 70 years of age, have also openly expressed their intention of withdrawing from the "first line" in the next year.

From this, it will not be difficult to anticipate a series of readjustments for the change-over from the older to the younger generations at the top decision-making level during the "13th Party Congress." According to information received, 130 promising people in their 30's and 40's will join the new central committee. As a political ruling force, the new administration under Deng, Hu, and Zhao has won wide popularity. However, according to an old proverb, "It was by a stream that the Master said, 'Thus do things flow away!'" The new political stars whom they have promoted, such as Hu Qili, Li Peng [2621 7720], Tian Jiyun [3944 4764 0061], Qiao Shi [0829 4258], Wu Xueqian [0702 1331 6197], and Wang Zhaoguo [3769 0340 0948], are now

fast rising, while others like Zhu Houze [2612 0624 3419], director of the Propaganda Department; Wei Jianxing [1414 0256 5887], director of the Organization Department; Zhu Liang [2612 5328], director of the International Liaison Department, and Wen Jiabao [3306 1367 1405], director of the General Office of Central Committee, are also holding real power in various key departments of the party and the government.

People have no idea of whether the post of General Secretary, now taken by Hu Yaobang, will be transferred to some other person; but there is hardly any doubt that Zhao Ziyang will retire from his premiership at the Seventh NPC 2 years later. It may be hard to ascertain whether Permanent Secretary Hu Qili, who has been running the Secretariat, belongs to the "first line," but it is beyond question that Zhao Ziyang as Premier of the State Council does belong to it under any circumstance. Both Hu and Zhao have announced that beginning next year, their work on the "first line" will be reduced, and Zhao's relinquishment of his title is only a matter of time. Furthermore, according to the constitution, a person can serve as a premier for only two consecutive terms, which Zhao has already completed. As to whether he will take up some other post, or retire completely, the writer will not hazard any guess.

Vice premiers Li Peng, Tian Jiyun, and Qiao Shi, and State Councilor Wu Xueqian are all well-educated and capable leaders. With the exception of Qiao Shi, they have all been in charge of certain State Council functions for several years, and have many times visited foreign countries. Their prestige is rising day after day. Enjoying the reputation of "young and healthy" leading cadres of a new generation, they are only a stone's throw away from premiership. As to exactly who will be promoted to this position, only the Seventh NPC can reveal.

In order to ensure the continuity of policies, it was at first the practise of the CPC to let the older cadres help the younger cadres "mount the horse" and then "escort them over some distance." Because of the accelerated measures to set up "young leading bodies" in recent years, new persons are now boldly appointed to important posts, and the method of helping them "mount the horse" and then letting them "go for a full gallop" has been used. We can imagine that the new CPC political stars represented by Hu Qili will decide on the mainland's political future.

#### Eliminate the Mystery, Promote Openly

Several days ago, Tian Jiyun announced a major reform in the CPC's personnel organization system, meaning that hereafter, the method of first compiling a list of third-echelon members, and then sending them down to some basic-level units for a certain period of tempering before promoting them would no longer be used, and that those who have distinguished themselves in basic level work and have won popular support would be promoted.

To solve the problem of an aging leading body, CPC formerly had in mind the formation of echelons of cadres. However, certain obvious defects in the internal selection of third-echelon members brought adverse comments from various quarters, and Wang Ruowan [3769 5387 2598], a well-known author in Shanghai, openly opposed this method. First, because only a handful of people

participate in the selection of third-echelon members, such a selection may be based on personal favor or prejudice, or on a one-sided analysis. Sending the candidates down to the basic levels for tempering may be merely "a formality." These candidates already "knew what is in store for them," and the basic-level cadres would do everything they could to please them. At the same time, this method of "internal arrangement" would help the opportunists, and tend to put people under obligation to the older cadres who have extended their "helping hand" so that these people must flatter and toady their bosses instead of fulfilling their social duties and serving the people. Immediately after joining the "leading body," some young cadres may be overwhelmed with the same routine jobs and gradually lose their interest in reform and work. They would be afraid of uttering a wrong word or mishandling a single matter. The kind of tempering they receive each day is for the "skill of sitting" (sitting in the office), the "skill of meeting" (being engulfed in the sea of meetings), and the "skill of circling" (drawing small circles on the documents they are suppose to comment). As time goes on, they will be infected with "bureaucratism."

Since 1982, as we understand, tens of thousands of young and middle-age cadres on the mainland have taken up leading posts above the county and department levels. Their work has been outstanding, and most of them are competent for their jobs. However, some of them have been promoted too rapidly and lack the prestige of leaders or practical proficiency. Some of them may be good at professional jobs but not at the organization of management or the disposition of personnel. If we take into account the incompetent ones, such as Yu Tiemin [0151 6993 3046], deputy director of the staff office of Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, we can say that many wrong choices have been made.

The 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee will undoubtedly discuss the election of new members for the leading organs of the "13th CPC Central Committee." At the same time, certain analyses and "rearrangements" will be made for the third-echelon members selected and promoted in the past 2 years. According to authoritative sources, among the young and middle-age leading cadres who have been elected central committee members during last year's National Conference of Party Delegates, and who subsequently took up leading posts at the provincial, municipal and autonomous regional levels, "it is inevitable that some persons who should not be admitted have actually been admitted. It is also difficult to leave out those who have 'entered by the back door' through various channels." Those who have been wrongly selected will be dismissed, while those who have committed crimes, offered or accepted bribes will be dealt with according to party discipline or state law.

Some high-level CPC leaders believe that in dealing with the young cadres who are unfit for leading posts in the party or the government, "it would be better to decide on some early action--the earlier the action, the greater will be our initiative. If we fail to make any progress in the solution of this problem in the current and the next year, more problems will accumulate to obstruct the intensification of the reform." By that time, the departure of some young cadres who had newly joined the party central committee can only be a foregone conclusion.

As we can see, a really urgent need of the moment is to replace the method of secretive and mysterious observation with that of scientific and open selection of cadres. According to CPC's former cadre system, there can be "only promotion, but no demotion," and people are accustomed to the concept that cadres would never leave their office, unless they have committed some terrible mistake. Now, the system of "promotion as well as demotion," under which readjustments can be made for those who are incompetent, calls for a real "conceptual renovation." The new wage system stipulates that while the wages should be commensurate with the duty involved, those who are dismissed will have their income reduced. This is vastly different from the former system under which the veteran cadres who worked for the party before the founding of the People's Republic could still have the same income after retirement. For this reason, greater difficulties will be encountered in making this type of readjustment. Nevertheless, the adoption of the new cadre system and new wage system can be quickly accomplished, because the high-level leaders have already set their mind on it.

#### Intraparty Differences, Not Factionalism

Hu Qili spoke on the subject of "democratic centralism" not long ago. He said: "There are people of diversified backgrounds and specialties working together in a leading body." Therefore, "the expression of different views and opinions on work is a good thing and not a bad thing. The comrades holding different opinions should never be accused of belonging to some 'group.' We should let them speak up, seriously consider their views, and invite them to talk about the possible troubles they anticipate. Then we should think of some way to avoid these troubles. When we have found the way, we should talk to them again to find out if there could be any further problems. If they cannot point out any more problem, we will proceed with the work.

In its "forum" section, HONGQI, the authoritative and theoretical journal of the CPC, admitted that inside the party, "there are many contradictions--between different opinions in matters of understanding in work, and between personal interests on the one hand and the interests of the party and the people on the other." The article admitted: "We must create the kind of atmosphere in which many contradictions can be resolved through discussion, exchange of views, heart-to-heart talks, and mutual understanding instead of repeating the former method of man-made intensification of contradictions causing tremendous losses.... We must not be afraid of going through troubles in developing democracy." In an atmosphere of relaxed and harmonious democracy which has prevailed among the higher CPC authorities since last spring, the arbitrary action of affixing labels, using the big stick, and seizing on others faults is becoming increasingly unpopular. At the same time, under the relaxed policies, we certainly should tolerate different opinions and views in interpreting the "open and reform" policy.

Since CPC came to rule over the mainland, one thing most feared and hated by the high-level decision-makers is to be sucked into the vortex of factionalism. Numerous factions were created during the "Great Cultural Revolution," and the credit for this creation should go to Lin Biao and the "gang of four" headed by Jiang Qing. The current use of such old terms as

"reformist group," "conservative group," and so forth, is highly improper. People expect a more democratic form of government, and the difference in political views can be easily revealed. It would be a great advantage to the state and the government if policy decisions are made scientifically after discussions, experiments, and confirmation. That was why Hu Qili said: "If you ask some person about his 'group' affiliation, he would only remain silent. This practice is dangerous, because the effects of any policy not yet enforced cannot be entirely anticipated." He found the remarks of some Western observers very amusing when they referred to this group and that group as though the abnormal conditions of the "cultural revolution" still exist. The reason is that if we arbitrarily classify the high-level leaders according to their part in policy decisions at various stages of the reform in Communist China during the past several years, such classifications would be mostly erroneous. Compared with the situation in the age of Mao Zedong, this tolerance of different political views and opinions in high-level policy decisions of the CPC is, in my opinion, certainly a big step forward. From the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee to the "13th CPC Congress," there is little doubt that many different views will be voiced.

As to those high-level CPC leaders who have severely violated the law, the problem certainly cannot be solved through democracy and leniency. That is why the CPC has formed the Central Leading Group for Party Rectification to handle the major and serious cases, and to "hunt the tigers, "high-ranking officials," as a means of mollifying public indignation. As we understand, new progress has been made recently, although in dealing with matters of this nature, it would be better to have "more action than talking" or "to act instead of talk." That is why little publicity has been given.

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CSO: 4005/073

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY, POLITICAL STRUCTURAL REFORM

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 8 Aug 86 p 1

[Article by Wang Huning [3769 3337 1337], associate professor of the Department of International Politics, Fudan University: "Economic Activities and the Reform of Political System"]

[Excerpt] Economic development is demanding that the reform of political system be carried out in two directions:

1. The functional reform of the political system. Due to the changes in economic activities and because such changes are an indispensable precondition for China's four modernizations, the past highly centralized method of social resource distribution is no longer applicable. The political system is changing in regard to the method of social resource distribution at the high, middle, and lower levels: The high (central) level is going from command-style distribution to distribution combining command and guidance; the middle (provincial and municipal) level is going from executive distribution to distribution combining execution and policy making; and the lower level (below district, county, and bureau levels) is going from materialized distribution to distribution combining materialization and coordination. Instead of giving earnest exhortations, political organs at all levels, through their distribution methods and principles, create an all-around environment for economic activities to promote economic development. Some of the requirements of the functional reform have already been spelled out in practice; others have not. At the same time, they will inevitably demand structural reform of political system.

2. The structural reform of the political system. Structural and functional reforms compliment each other. Structural reform is often the official affirmation of the statement of changes which have already occurred in functions. Judged from the current situation, the structural reform of the political system should be carried out mainly in two directions: 1) Horizontal power delegation. Horizontal power delegation may occur at the high, middle, and lower levels. Every level needs to conduct rational horizontal power delegation. Of course, the horizontal power delegation of the high level is still more important because it has a direct bearing on the overall and strategic distribution of social resources. Through horizontal power delegation, we should achieve a good political mechanism to avoid the overlapping of powers and the crossing of jurisdiction and establish a certain relation that would balance powers between different horizontal organs to

ensure that the distribution of social resources meet the demands of social economic activities in China; 2) Vertical power delegation namely is to define the jurisdiction of political organs at all levels, smash the system of high centralization, and give appropriate powers to political organs at all levels so that they can make decisions for the distribution of social resources at middle and sub-mid levels according to the specific conditions and situations of their areas and accelerate economic development according to local conditions. The jurisdiction of central and local authorities and other departments should all be changed according to changed economic activities.

The above two levels of reform are relatively direct demands set after the reform of the economic system. However, these two relatively direct demands also indicate two other directions in the reform of political system:

First, the reform of the political policy-making procedure. The social resource distribution of a political system is hinged on the policy making of the political system. The intention and action of social resource distribution of the political system constitute the policies and leadership of social economic activities. Today, after drastic changes have taken place in economic activities, the political policy-making procedure of the past must also be changed accordingly. The new economic activity model demands that the political system switch from direct to indirect social resource distribution. This method of distribution is even more difficult and demands a higher degree of artistry. It should provide the best all-round environment for the economic activities of the whole of society, but it should not directly control the economic activities of society. This demands that the political policy-making procedure is able to gather fully and reflect all information and ideas of society, carry out the coordination and integration of maximum economic results, and formulate the best policy of social resource distribution. To achieve this, the political system must strengthen democratic progress, expand openness, reduce closeness, gather, through systematic mechanism and organs, as much information and ideas related to the economic activities of society as possible, and distribute social resources in the most rational manner.

Second, reform of the cadre system. The political structure and functions of all political systems are formed and materialized by a certain number of people. The social resource distribution method that suits new economic activities and relations needs to be guaranteed with a cadre contingent of modernized qualities. China's current cadre system still has some defects in regard to selection, training, evaluation, promotion, and supervision. It cannot meet the demands of the future economic activity model. Through the reform of the cadre system, we should eliminate the phenomena of bureaucracy, power overcentralization, patriarchal system, power abuse, being divorced from reality, ideological ossification, sticking to conventions, overstaffing, and irresponsibility which exist in the political system and ensure that the political system can distribute social resources in the most rational and scientific manner. In a certain sense, at present, the reform of the cadre system is a rather urgent link in the reform of political system.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

COORDINATION OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC REFORMS DISCUSSED

Shanghai MINZHU YU FAZHI [DEMOCRACY AND LEGAL SYSTEM] in Chinese No 8, 20 Aug 86 pp 20-21

[Article by Liu Shiding [0491 0013 1353]: "The Reform of Political Structure Should Be Carried out in Coordination With Reform of the Economic Structure"]

[Excerpts] The issue of the reform of political structure attracts more and more attention from the people. Where to start and how to proceed with this reform must be carefully considered by those who are enthusiastic about reform. But, before a concrete reform plan is advanced, it is necessary to sort out some basic thoughts.

I think that while considering the current reform of the political structure, it is necessary to stress the issue of coordination between the reform of political structure and the reform of the economic structure, namely the issue of carrying out reforms in these two fields in a coordinated manner. Only by so doing can the reform of political structure have a solid social foundation and progress with outstanding achievements.

Reforms Should be Coordinated in Three Areas

The combination or coordinated development of the reforms of political and economic structures involves a series of complicated issues. To put it briefly, they can be divided into three areas: The coordinations of target model, current situation study, and reform procedures.

1. The Coordination of Target Model

The target model discussed here is the target model of the current reform, not general discussions about the future of Marxism and socialism.

Whether the target model of the political structural reform is coordinated and coincide with that of the economic structural reform is an issue of critical importance to whether the reforms in these two fields can progress in a coordinated manner. Although political and economic reforms are both reforms, if the choices of target models fail to coordinate with each other, the reforms will clash in many respects and fail to achieve good results.

Therefore, the coordination of the target model should be first considered when considering the coordinated development of the political structural reform and the economic structural reform.

After several years of practice in economic structural reform and the study and analysis of China's economic development, the target model of China's economic structural reform is now basically clear. To put it briefly, this is a model for the economic structure of socialist commodity economy. I think that the target model of the political structural reform should correspond to this.

Currently, there are still many confused ideas about the point that China's political structure should correspond to the development of a socialist commodity economy. For instance, some people think that it means implementing the principle of the exchange of equal value in political life, thus making bribery a public practice and encouraging public office employees to engage in graft and embezzlement. This is a pure misunderstanding. Bribery, graft, and embezzlement are long-existing phenomena which are not necessarily linked to the commodity economy. As for the principle of the exchange of equal value, it has never been implemented even in the capitalist political system which is built on the basis of a capitalist commodity economy.

What needs to be pointed out is that there are also some comrades who are enthusiastic about the reform of political structure but seldom consider the question of how can the target model of the political structural reform correspond to socialist commodity economy. This cannot but be considered a flaw.

When considering the target model of the political structural reform, it is necessary to study related theories in the classics of Marxism concerning the political system of a future society. However, we should realize that neither Marx, Engels, nor Lenin had the theory of socialist commodity economy and it was impossible for them to consider the issue of political system from the viewpoint of socialist commodity economy. Therefore, we should not be confined to their theories. Instead, we should do creative thinking according to the practice of socialism.

Meanwhile, we should pay attention to studying the political systems of capitalist countries. In the past, we overemphasized the aspect of class nature in capitalist political systems and ignored the content of the part concerning the function of general social management which is based on the foundation of the commodity economy. The content of this part is of use to us when we study the target model of political structure that corresponds to socialist commodity economy.

Of course, in studying a target model, the most important thing is to have a clear understanding of China's current situation and proceed from China's reality. We will discuss this further in the following.

## 2. The Coordination of Current Situation Studies

This is, namely, to conduct a comprehensive study of the current situations of China's economic and political systems. Through such study, we should have a clear understanding of the operational and interactive mechanisms of old political and economic structures, and find out in which links the old political structure hinders the old economic structure from establishing and developing. Only on the basis of such a study can we design reform plans and procedures in a scientific manner.

## 3. The Coordination of Reform Procedures

Reforms cannot achieve good results unless they are carried out in a coordinated manner which is an experience provided by the reform of economic structure. This is especially true in the case that political and economic structural reforms are carried out simultaneously. We should realize that in certain respects the political structural reform is more difficult and time-consuming than the economic structural reform. Therefore, it is imperative to distinguish those reforms which take a short time to complete from those which take longer and do a good job in the alignment and combination of various reforms. The thinking of accomplishing the whole task at one stroke cannot guide the complex and profound reform currently carried out in China.

The coordinated development of political and economic structural reforms is dynamic coordination, not the absolute balance of progress. The absolute balance of progress is impossible. It is unavoidable for the political or the economic structural reform to surpass the other within a certain range. Yugoslavia started with political structural reform which resulted in economic structural reform whereas Hungary set forth the task of political structural reform after its economic structural reform progressed to a certain degree. China's economic and political developments are uneven to begin with. China is also a large country with very complex situations; thus the uneven development of reforms is even more unavoidable. Here, a very important thing is to control the "degree" of the unevenness.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON COUNTRY'S POLITICAL STRUCTURAL REFORM

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 107, Sep 86 pp 14-16

[Article by Xu Xing [6079 5887]: "Controversy over Party Rights versus People's Rights; Commentary on Political Structural Reform"]

[Text] From Whisperings to Open Talks

In its late June issue, SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO frontpaged an article entitled "Whisperings about Political Reform Has Become Open Talks." The word "whisperings" was most appropriately used.

Politics have been in command in China for more than 30 years. The official language consisted almost entirely of political phraseology, and to talk about politics in any other language would be very dangerous. That is why people have all along regarded politics as a very sensitive issue. They may voice different views on the economic reform or economic structural reform, but until very recently, nobody dared to demand political reform or political structural reform openly. They might have whispered about it, because the climate was not ripe for it to be discussed openly.

Recently, probably because the opponents of "ideological contamination" have lost their power and the atmosphere of academic freedom has prevailed, the policy of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend" is once again given prominence, and the need of a relaxed and harmonious environment for culture and arts is now officially advocated. Because of this open atmosphere, the call for political reform has gradually changed from whisperings to open talks.

Discussion Meeting of Young Scholars in Beijing

The discussion on political reform was probably touched off by the young scholars in Beijing. In May this year, ZHONGGUO SHEHUIXUE, the Young People's Social Science Forum of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, and the editorial department of ZHENGZHIXUE YANJIU jointly held an academic discussion meeting of young people, and the topic of discussion was "reform and development of China's political system." All the participants agreed that "China's economic structural reform will certainly lead to political, ideological and cultural changes and developments. This sensitive issue cannot be passively evaded or

be allowed to take its natural course. We should actively strive for the initiative, or we will not be able to take full advantage of the excellent opportunity provided by the economic development and the economic structural reform to promote social progress."

These remarks clearly reflect the desire of the new generation of young and middle-age intellectuals in China to have a conscious grip on the situation of the economic reform. They belong to the active and progressive, but not the passive and evasive type. While hoping that China's economic reform will become an irreversible trend, they also hope that the same irreversible trend will likewise appear in China's political, cultural and ideological progress.

According to the published reports, this meeting discussed the question of proper relationships among different political organizations, the special characteristics of political structural development at various stages, the coordination between state laws and party policies, the question of efficiency of the legislative, judicial and executive departments, and the effects of changes in economic and political concepts. It was reported that some new viewpoints and constructive proposals were offered during the discussion, and the following are what was generally agreed on:

For the study of political theories, aside from the traditional methods, there should be analyses of and explorations in economic reform in the light of social realities.

While full guarantee of socialist democracy is undoubtedly one of the main goals of China's political structural reform, the low level of China's economic development should also be considered.

Democracy is not antagonistic to centralism. Democracy is opposed to autocracy, while decentralism is opposed to centralism. Unscientific and arbitrary action must be opposed and dispersed efforts must be guarded against so that the resources can be concentrated on the key projects.

The lateral ties of enterprises need an environment for fair competition under effective legislative and judicial conditions, and the promotion of these lateral ties would strengthen the bonds between the economic and the political structural reform.

The question of political structure is a highly sensitive one. At present, the study of political science is not only inadequate for the practical needs of daily life, but also lagging behind the study of economics and other sciences. Greater efforts should be made in the study of political theories and personnel training.

#### [Bailunde's] Unexpected Role

At that time, Thomas Evan [Bailunde], president of Hungarian Academy of Sciences and one of the principal theorists in Hungary's economic reform, visited China. In Beijing, he publicized certain views and information concerning Hungary's political reform.

He said: "No economic reform can be completely successful without a political reform. The experiences of economic reform in Hungarian have illustrated this point. I believe the practice in China will similarly prove it."

He said in his analysis: "Society is a complex entity. A country cannot deal with its economic problems as an isolated issue and in separation from politics and culture. Reform as a rule begins in the political field. Political reform, the promulgation of new policies, and the atmosphere of cultural and academic freedom will be the foundation of a basic economic reform. In this sense, political reform is the first requisite of any reform."

Speaking of the specific issues, he said: "A very important factor is the freedom to express divergent views. ...Even in dealing with a very small number of oppositionists, we should let them express their completely different views without any political pressure from us."

Unexpectedly, [Bailunde's] views had an inspiring effect on the political reform then brewing in China.

#### Two Democratic Views among the Reformists

Another meeting for discussing the theories of a political structural reform was held by the party school of the CPC Central Committee from 10 to 12 July. Among those invited to attend were Gong Xiangrui [7895 4382 3843], professor of the Law Department, Beijing University; Gao Fang [7559 2397], professor of International Political Science, Chinese People's University; Chen Yizi [7115 0001 0745], director of China's Restructuring of the Economic System Research Institute; and the research workers and leaders of the relevant State Council departments totaling more than 130 persons.

Chen Yizi is a middle-age reformist. He joined the party at the age of 18, and entered Beijing University in 1959 to study physics at first and literature later. In 1963, because he spoke up for a rightist school mate, he was criticized and sent to the countryside. He later became a commune party committee secretary. Deng Yingtao [6772 5391 7118], son of Deng Liqun [6772 0500 5028], was then a production team leader under him. In 1975, he became acquainted with Hu Yaobang, then not quite famous.

The most discussed and most debated question in the discussion meeting was how to actually carry out the political structural reform, especially with regard to the breakthrough point in the reform. Some held that the separation of party and government functions with a rational distribution of power should serve as the breakthrough point, while others believed that only the establishment of a highly democratic socialist system can actually solve the problem of democracy versus centralism.

From these sketchy press reports, we can faintly notice the existence of divergent views inside the reformist camp on the steps to be taken in the practice of democracy. Some favored an "elite democracy," whereby the elite elements will have more say and power in the power structure. Others wanted "open democracy" so that the present political structure, characterized by a

concentration of power, will be fundamentally changed, while the people or the entire society will be able to exercise their democratic supervisory function.

Some kind of compromise seems to have been reached in the discussion meeting, because most people agreed that in carrying out the political structural reform, we must meet two key requirements, namely, the separation between party and government functions and democracy of a high degree, and the related problems will be easily solved.

#### Zhu Houze's [2621 0624 3419] Signal

Zhu Houze, Director of Central Committee Propaganda Department spoke at the meeting. His speech only gave a signal but contained no conclusion. He knew that the discussion on this question was only beginning and that no premature conclusion should be drawn.

He said: Along with the intensification of the economic structural reform, it would be necessary to further intensify the political structural reform. In his view, political structural reform is nothing new, since it began way back in 1979, and what had to be done now was only a matter of intensification. Probably, he considered the restructuring of the State Council and the introduction of the system of compulsory retirement in 1981 as part of the political structural reform program.

He added: Political, economic, ideological and cultural factors infiltrate into and affect one another. In studying a political structural reform, we must be active and yet cautious. We must think more deeply, look farther ahead, and proceed from realities. On the basis of thorough investigations and study, we should ponder over things carefully. After 7 years of reform, we must see what obstacle from the political structure has been encountered during the development of our economic reform, and what corresponding reform should be carried out in the political structure to further intensify the economic structural reform. We must also find out what improvement has been made in the system and in the leadership over socialist economic management and ideology.

This speech was very skillfully worded. It revealed the problems, but did not touch on their core; it presented views, but not on specific issues. It was indeed the speech of a tactful leader who knew that no definite conclusion could yet be reached. However, this speech proved at least one point: the CPC Central Committee's support for the current political structural reform. Whether this reform was initiated by the central committee or by the elite elements in the party, we do not know. In any case, many leaders of the central committee, such as Zhao Ziyang, Hu Qili [5170 0796 4539], Wang Zhaoguo [3769 0340 0948] and some others talked about the necessity of a political structural reform about the same time.

#### Deng Xiaoping's Talks

Recently, Beijing's ZUZHI RENSHI XINXI BAO carried a special report on Deng Xiaoping's talks on the political structural reform. These talks showed that were it not for the signal given by Deng Xiaoping, nobody, I think, would have dared to express any view on this reform. Deng Xiaoping said:

"When I last called on Zhao Ziyang and several other comrades to talk about economic work, I expressed the view that a reform of the political structure, including the of separation between party and government functions, should be given attention. Of course, there are other problems, such as the over-size departments with surplus personnel, and procrastination in work. When there are too many people, some work must be found for them. That is why many units have become companies in order to withdraw power from the lower levels. Comrade Peng Zhen [1756 4176] also felt the existence of this problem. Our policy is to delegate more power to the lower levels, and now the companies have withdrawn most of it, leaving practically no power for the lower levels. The enterprises have lost their enthusiasm, and the speed of development has declined precisely for this reason."

"The question of separation between party and government was raised way back in the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. The party should be good at leadership. It should not interfere too much. This practice should start with the Central Committee. It would not weaken the party's leadership, because in upholding party leadership, there is the question of good and poor leadership. If the party is over-involved, any undesirable result would weaken its leadership. This is the problem we fear."

"I think all comrades, particularly those of the Secretariat, should give some thought to the question of a political structural reform. Whether we can or cannot finally succeed in our other reforms will be decided by the outcome of the political structural reform. Everything depends on human efforts. If you want the power to be delegated to the lower levels and they withdraw the power, what can you do? The political structural reform and the economic structural reform should be inter-dependent and mutually coordinated. If we only carry out economic structural reform without a political structure reform, the economic structural reform will be unsuccessful because of man-made obstacles."

#### The Call for "Return of Power to People"

If we closely study Deng Xiaoping's talks, we will see that the kind of political structural reform he had in mind is biased toward separation between party and government functions, the problem of over-size departments with surplus personnel, and the question of delegating power to the lower levels. This is a limited reform, or, as it may be called, a reform within a certain framework. The purpose of the reform is to further consolidate the party power.

In society, however, some people are in favor of the consolidation of people's power as a foundation of the reform. For example, Fang Lizhi [2455 0536 0037], vice president of Chinese University of Science and Technology and a well-known astrophysicist, clearly stated that in discussing the political structural reform, the first question to be answered is "who depends on whom?"

or, to be exact, do people depend of government officials or vice versa? This question will touch on the so-called issue of "bureaucracy" or "democracy." Fang Lizhi said: In China, the time-honored ideology is that "government officials are superior to people," and that officials bestow favors to people. He commented: "The lack of separation between party and government functions and the substitution of party for government are one of the defects of China's current political structure." Therefore, he held that "supervision to be exercised by people is the key link in the reform of China's political structure."

Ding Richu [0002 2480 0443], Director of Economic History Research Office of Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, boldly criticized the concept that democracy means allowing people to speak. He said: Allowing people to speak cannot be equated to democracy, because there is the question of allowing and not allowing, or listening and not listening. People may be allowed to speak today, but not tomorrow. Also, even though you may speak, there is still the question of his listening or refusing to listen. Therefore, he held that democracy is a question of power, and there should really be "power for the people" and "power of the people."

Shang Ding [1412 0002], editor, Shanghai Dictionary Publishing House, said: "The present power structure is of a closed and mandatory type, and power is relayed to the lower levels as though through a pipeline. Speaking of reform, we must stress democracy, and then consider the way to convert the power structure from one of a closed to one of an open type."

Wu Shaozhong [0702 4801 0022], deputy chief editor, Shanghai Academy of Sciences Publishing House, criticized those who claimed, in the past, that "the speaker cannot be guilty." He said: The speaker is in fact guilty, although he is tolerated and free from indictment. He held that now should be the time to set right the relationship between the masters and the public servants.

#### Freedom of Speech as the Breakthrough Point in Political Reform

Difference between the concept of party power and that of the people's power is the watershed in China's political structural reform. Even on the same problem of, say, separation between party and government functions, the advocates of party power and those of people's power may hold different views and find different solutions. According to advocates of power for the party, party leadership over the government is only a natural law. All government officials, either party or nonparty members, must accept party leadership, and the most direct leadership over them is that of the party organization in their own department. According to this principle, the so-called separation between party and government functions can only mean that the government organs and government personnel should be separated from the party organs and party personnel in order to avoid overlapping; that the party organizations in the government organs should interfere less in, or relinquish their monopoly over administrative matters, so that the administrative personnel will have more say and power in policy decisions; and that the best to be expected is the introduction of the systems of consultation, scientific confirmation, and a public poll. If we look at the situation according to the concept of

genuine power for the people, the separation between party and government functions will mean that both the party and the government should have their own power. While party members form the basis of the party, people also form the basis of the government, and the power of the government should come from the people, and not from the party. Therefore, the way to reform is a genuine election of the NPC by the people so that the NPC will truly become the people's power organ. The government should be elected by the NPC, but not formed after deliberations in the party. Government officials may be party or nonparty members, and nonparty members are under no obligation to accept party leadership. Party members, of course, must accept party leadership, but only in matters of ideology.

Either party or nonparty members in the government are responsible only to the NPC and should be subject to the interrogations and supervision of the people's deputies as well as the supervision of the people through public opinion.

Therefore, according to the views of the advocates of people's power, the important breakthrough point in the political structural reform is the people's freedom of speech. This freedom should not be considered as a favor from the party or the officials, but an inherent right of the people as stipulated in the constitution. To exercise their inherent right of freedom of speech, the people must have their own platform. If Communist China is sincere in supporting the people for these rights, the first thing it should do is to eliminate the defect of a uniform way for all newspapers and journals in the country to guide public opinion. It must not run all newspapers and journals as official media or force them to speak only on behalf of the party and the government, but allow the people to take the responsibility for what they write. It must act in accordance with this spirit so that the responsible persons of the press and the editors will be absolved from any political responsibility for publishing divergent views. As the second step, it should turn some of the present newspapers and journals over to civilians for publication, or allow the civilians to raise funds to start their own publication. Publication law and press law should be worked out and all civilian as well as official publications should be governed by law.

Political structural reform is a very complex project, and it would be a good idea to let the social elites conduct extensive discussions. We believe that in view of the present political climate of the country, there is now internal freedom of speech for the elite elements, although their views cannot be fully publicized to produce the effects of information exchange. Therefore, promotion of the freedom of speech and reduction of the political responsibility of the newspaper editors, or absolving them from such a responsibility are the urgent needs of the moment.

As for the steps to be taken in the reform, we are by no means opposed to the idea of a limited reform within the old framework. In other words, we do not oppose any kind of reform even though it may be based on the official power concept. Any reform, even a very minor one, is better than no reform at all. However, we feel that unless the entire political structure is basically overhauled so that party rule will be replaced by democracy, there can be no way to solve such problems as die-hard bureaucratism, red tape, surplus personnel, mutual haggling and shifting of responsibility, abusing power for private gain, bribery and black-mailing, spending the state's money lavishly on personal enjoyment, and even forming cliques of female relatives or sworn followers, all under a political structure of over-centralized power.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

BEIJING PRESS REFORM SYMPOSIUM, COMMENTS

Zhang Fengzhi Article

Beijing ZHONGGUO BIAOKAN BAO in Chinese 6 Aug 86 p 1

[Article by Zhang Fengzhi [1728 5358 0037] "Press Propaganda Should also Have a Relaxed and Harmonious Environment, as Pointed out in Symposium of Beijing Press Units"]

[Text] "Premier Zhao has mentioned the need for a relaxed and harmonious atmosphere for economic reform. Is this atmosphere also needed for press propaganda? I hope everyone will air his views with an open mind." These were the opening remarks made by Yang Zicai [2254 1311 2088], secretary of All-China Federation of Journalists, on the morning of 29 July at a symposium of some press units in Beijing.

Tao Kai [7118 6963], chief of GUANGMING RIBAO's commentary section, was the first to speak. He said: Newspapers are the mouthpiece of the party and the people. For them to function efficiently as "mouthpiece," their minds must be free from lingering fears of "taking class struggle as the key link" and "blazing the trail with mass repudiation." There must be a relaxed and harmonious political atmosphere and an environment to "let a hundred schools of thought contend." Sun Zhibo [1327 1807 2672], deputy chief editor of JIEFANGJUN BAO's political work section, said: Relaxation should start with the leading organs. At present, the upper levels have very strict rules for some articles, and it is especially difficult for those reflecting the seamy side to be published. If we do publish them, we must turn the negative aspect into a positive one. Some comments from the people are correct, and certain explorations in the reform are also significant. The press should carry them. Chen Da [7115 6671], chief of BEIJING RIBAO's science and education section, said: If relaxation and harmony are desired, the leading organs must not interfere too much with the press. If the higher authorities will give us a free hand, the editorial departments will certainly exercise greater caution. The control must be "externally relaxed and internally tight" in order to avoid trouble in news reporting. Zheng Xiuman [6774 4423 3341], deputy chief of NONGMIN RIBAO's political and cultural section, said: Our "bosses" are fairly enlightened, but we must not set up too many "restrictions." We cannot run a newspaper in a lively way if we live in constant fear. Huang Huachang [7806 5478 2490], deputy chief of BEIJING RIBAO's theoretical section, said: Relaxation does not mean laxity, and harmony does not mean unconditional agreement. Now some people would express dissatisfaction at the very mention

of relaxation and harmony because of the element of criticism involved. This is a one-sided view. Some critical articles appeared in the press not long ago. The language used was too strong and smacked of a "mass criticism." This practice should be avoided in the future.

Wang Furu [3769 4395 1172], deputy director of Propaganda Department Press Bureau said: The terms relaxation and harmony were used as a contrast to certain "leftist" methods of the past. This point should be carefully noted. To create a relaxed and harmonious situation, the leading organs should study some way of scientific control so that there would be more "decisionmaking power" for the press. The control must not be too rigid. The press should also carefully learn how to translate the spirit of relaxation and harmony into practice, and adapt itself to the change gradually. Experience is still lacking in this respect, and I hope some bold explorations will be undertaken.

Commentator on Newspapers Reform

Beijing XINWEN ZHANXIAN [NEWS FRONT] in Chinese No 8, 1986 pp 2-4

[Commentator's article: "Newspapers Should Also Be Reformed"]

[Excerpts] "Today, when a new situation is being created in all fields of socialist modernization, the reform, like an avalanche, is sweeping across the land including the economic, political and cultural fields. Newspapers, as a social medium to collect information from various quarters and to report on the achievements of the age, are feeling the impact from this irresistible avalanche even more closely. To meet the situation of an all-around reform, our newspapers must consider themselves part of the comprehensive and dynamic system engineering in all fields of the society in the entire reform program. While publicizing the reform, newspapers themselves should also undergo due reform." This passage is quoted from an open letter to readers of RENMIN RIBAO's editorial department on 2 July, the occasion of its 30th anniversary. Entitled "Our Wishes," this letter was intended to express the wishes of RENMIN RIBAO's editorial department. These wishes are probably also those of all newspaper workers as well as the broad masses of readers throughout the country. In a fast-changing world where something new occurs everyday, can any newspaper afford not to have a reform? Is there any reader who does not hope for a press reform so that he can read their newspapers with ever increasing interest?

The revised edition of RENMIN RIBAO first appeared in 1956 when the CPC had already become the party in power throughout China; when the socialist transformation of the means of production for all people in the country had been basically completed under party leadership; and when all the work of the party and the state was focussed on economic construction.

Today, when we look at the revised edition of RENMIN RIBAO published in the second half of 1956, we can still see its new vitality, rich contents, and vivid layout. It fairly effectively publicized the party's general and specific policies and embodied the prosperity and vigor of the state in the political and economic fields. Unfortunately, these conditions did not last long. Because of erroneous guiding thoughts, newspaper work has for a very long time deviated from the correct guidelines.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," the task of setting things right marked the turning point for the party and helped it return to its correct path. The discussions on "practice as the sole criterion for testing truth," in particular, turned the party's newspaper into a powerful tool which once again won the people's confidence.

However, this does not mean that there are no more problems in newspaper work. As the party's mouthpiece, newspapers have the defects of being behind the times and lacking in vitality, accuracy and penetrating insights in spreading the party's voice and explaining the party's policies. There is still immense room for improvement particularly in coordinating the realities of the reform with the realities of the readers' way of thinking, when the party's general and specific policies are explained. Whenever we open a newspaper, we can always find a great deal of insipid stock phrases, major and minor concepts, and commentaries or news reports with no dynamic material or dynamic language used. These articles are intended to disseminate the party's policies, but their results are very poor. If they claim to be mouthpieces, then they can only produce poor voice. In reporting on people's feelings or outcries, especially in the expression of critical views, the newspapers are sometimes hot and sometimes cold, but never make much sustained effort. It is hard to find in newspapers any article of a critical nature. Even though such articles can be found on rare occasions, the issues involved are too minor and insignificant to produce any enlightening effect. In the transmission of information, what the newspapers offer to their readers in the present fast-changing world is far from adequate for their work or their reading interest. There have also been many instances of wrong information being transmitted, or information losing its effects because of delay in transmission. Other problems, such as the form, language and layout of news reports news commentaries being out-dated, stereotyped, and devoid of freshness (although some newspapers are slightly better in these respects), have been discussed in newspaper circles and the society for a long time.

Newspapers are the product of the age, and their vitality should grow along with the march of time. In a certain sense, newspapers should be ahead of the age in order to lead it on its march. If they remain conservative, refuse to accept innovation and to explore new problems, and choose to stay away from the reform, they will not be able to reflect the situation of the reform and to guide its development, and will eventually be washed out by its torrents. It is precisely for this reason that many newspapers are now considering the problems of press reform, and some of these problems have already been brought to light in newspapers. This is a gratifying phenomenon for the press.

Press reform, like the economic structural reform, is a self-improvement process. Instead of changing the characteristics and functions of the party's press, the reform will enable it to embody and develop these characteristics and functions more effectively. In his speech "Concerning the Work of the Party's Press," Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "The party's press is the party's mouthpiece, which is naturally the mouthpiece of the people's government under party leadership, and also the mouthpiece of the people themselves." He added: "In order that the party's press can play its full role as the party's mouthpiece, it must be able to acquaint the lower levels with the situation at the higher levels, and vice versa, to strengthen the relationship between the

party and the people, to reflect the people's outcries, and to provide information to the people in various respects." Comrade Hu Yaobang's conclusion is a comprehensive summation of the historical experiences of the party's press (including the three documents, reprinted in the current issue of this journal, concerning the work of the party's press) as well as the guideline for the current press reform. There are now numerous newspapers dealing with, for example, the party's official news, the professional news, the daily news and the evening news in the form of regular newspapers or tabloids and catering to different readerships. Therefore, it is certainly impossible for them all to be reformed in the same way. However, as long as they have the desire and a clear understanding of the direction of reform, it is beyond doubt that China's press will undergo a new development.

Hong Kong Paper on 'Flexible Control'

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 11 Sep 86 p 5

[Article: "More Flexible Control Expected after Sixth Plenum; Drafting of Press Law Proceeding in Earnest"]

[Text] Press reform has become a hot topic in the mainland recently.

At the "Symposium of Chief Editors of all Provincial Newspapers" held in the last 10 days of August, someone pointed out that the coverage of meetings by the mainland press was excessive, and all the participants shared his view.

At the same time, GONGREN RIBAO carried a signed article calling on all newspapers to discard the dogma of "a uniform way to guide public opinion." Later, RENMIN RIBAO also published a series of articles suggesting that newspapers should not only encourage people to express what is in the bottom of their hearts, but also allot more space for such expressions. Vice Premier Wan Li [5502 6849] also stated: "We should encourage the free airing of views, do away with the taboos, and translate what the constitution says about freedom of speech into a reality." All these incidences indicate the new trend of the mainland press.

For a long time, Communist China has consistently regarded the press as a "tool of class struggle" and the "party's mouthpiece," and all newspapers in the country can only follow the set tune. During the cultural revolution, "it was the vogue for tabloids to copy from regular newspapers, and for regular newspapers to copy from Liang Xiao [2755 2400] (name of a writing group in the cultural revolution)." Therefore, people could find little variation from the newspapers they read or from the broadcasting they hear. Public opinion was like a stagnant pool completely devoid of vitality.

Following the open-door policy in recent years, newspapers and broadcasting began to show signs of improvement. Criticism of cadres and exposure of the seamy side in the press have gradually increased.

According to recent rumors, after the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, to be held later this month, a more flexible policy will be

adopted for newspapers. As we understand, the drafting of a press law is now being undertaken in earnest by Hu Jiwei [5170 4921 0251], a well-known journalist in Communist China. We can see that press reform in Mainland China now is only in line with the current trend. However, since the poison from the traditional and undemocratic concept of "a uniform way to guide public opinion" is still serious, it would be no wonder to find obstacles on the road of press reform.

#### Skeptical View From Hong Kong

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 107, Sep 86 pp 36-37

[Article by Leng Dong [0397 2639]: "How Can the Party's Voice Be Relaxed and Harmonious"]

[Text] As reported by ZHONGGUO BAOKAN BAO of Beijing on 6 August, some press units of Beijing have held a symposium to discuss this theme: Press propaganda should have a relaxed and harmonious environment. Wang Furu [3769 4395 1172], deputy director of the Propaganda Department Press Bureau, attended and spoke at the symposium.

#### All Central Committee Mouthpieces Remaining Apathetic

Some people have commented that this symposium was the signal of a Chinese press reform. While basically in agreement with this comment, the writer of this article must point out that this signal is too weak to serve as any inspiration. The following two points deserve attention:

First, neither XINHUA SHE nor ZHONGXIN SHE reported on this symposium. Why? The only explanation is that the news was banned at the direction of the central committee. It is not hard to discover how unrelaxed and unharmonious is the environment for propaganda by XINHUA SHE and ZHONGXIN SHE.

Among the press units in Beijing, GUANGMING RIBAO, JIEFANGJUN BAO, NONGMIN BAO, and BEIJING RIBAO attended the symposium, but RENMIN RIBAO, the mouthpiece of the party central committee, did not. Why? Can it be true that its work environment is already so relaxed and harmonious that no reform is necessary? If such is the case, it should still attend and introduce its experiences to the symposium. Therefore, there can be no plausible explanation except that as the central committee's mouthpiece, it cannot hold "ordinary views" and must march in step with the central committee.

From this, we can see that XINHUA SHE, ZHONGXIN SHE, and RENMIN RIBAO, all being high-ranking official mouthpieces, were united in remaining apathetic toward the symposium which demanded a relaxed and harmonious environment for newspaper work. This apathetic attitude undoubtedly reflected on the CPC Central Committee's attitude toward the press reform.

#### GONGREN RIBAO's Opposition to the Uniform Way of Guiding Public Opinion

From the basic views expressed in the symposium by some of the participants, we still cannot see much other than the shopworn "theory of mouthpiece."

Let us take Tao Kai [7118 6963], chief of GUANGMING RIBAO's commentary section, as an example. Despite his claim that people cannot have lingering fears of the implications of "taking class struggle as the key link" and "blazing a trail with mass repudiation," and his desire for an environment of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend," he lay even greater stress on the "function of newspapers as the mouthpiece of the party and the people," and the need for "efficiency in the exercise of this function." Although the other participants agreed that "there should not be too much interference in newspapers from the leading organs," "newspapers as the mouthpiece of the party and the people" was still considered by them as a prerequisite. Since it is admitted that "newspapers serve as the mouthpiece of the party and the people," and primarily the mouthpiece of the party, then the voice out of this mouthpiece should be the party's voice. Since the party's voice cannot go against its wish, the party must strictly control its mouthpiece to prevent it from sounding any discordant notes. Therefore, the excessive interference to newspapers from the leading organs precisely reflects the party's wish--the same tune for all.

On 8 August, after the press symposium in Beijing, GONGREN RIBAO, mouthpiece of All-China Federation of Trade Unions, carried an article saying that "Newspapers and journals should take the lead in creating a relaxed and harmonious environment and discard the 'uniform way of guiding public opinion.'" This viewpoint is far more forward than any expressed in the symposium. The article continued: "Social life is complex and noisy. It is thus imperative that newspapers should not all follow the same tune, because not every viewpoint of every article can represent that of the party central committee or even the editorial department. There should not be any 'uniform way of guiding public opinion.'" The article further added: "Newspapers and journals are the media of debates as well as criticism. However, criticism should be fully based on reasoning and be well-intentioned. It should also include discussion, choice or elimination, extracting the essence, discarding the dross, affirming the merits, and pointing out the shortcomings. Everyone should be equal before criticism. We must refrain from 'using the big stick,' 'sticking on labels' and 'seizing on others' faults.' We must also prevent the 'final reckoning' and 'affixing tags,' and particularly oppose 'checking on personal backgrounds.' You have the right of criticism, and I also have the right of counter-criticism."

With extraordinary courage, the author of that article countered the hackneyed traditional viewpoint of the party that "newspapers and journals serve as the party's mouthpiece" with the argument that "newspapers and journals are the media of debates." This was quite a bold challenge.

#### "Decisionmaking Power" of Newspapers and Journals Bestowed as a Favor

Deputy Director Wang of the central committee press bureau said at the symposium: "As for creating a relaxed and harmonious situation, the leading organs should study some scientific way to control newspapers and journals so that the newspapers and journals may have greater 'decisionmaking power.'" Please note that the decisionmaking power mentioned by Deputy Director Wang was in quotes. In other words, it is "scientifically" bestowed, but not

legally stipulated, so that as soon as the leading organs see no need to bestow this favor, the decisionmaking power can be revoked any time. Two years [as published] ago, as a result of the favor from the leading organs, the tabloids much welcomed by the people sprang up like bamboo-shoots after a rain. Later on, when the leading organs discovered that these tabloids had won over the readers of the party's mouthpieces, large and small, an order was given to rescind this favor, and the tabloids were all banned. There was also the time when even the party's mouthpieces blatantly exposed the seamy side of the mainland. However, after Hu Yaobang's speech "On the Party's Newspaper Work" in which he said that "generally, 80 percent of the contents should be about achievements, brightness, and praises, leaving 20 percent for shortcomings, darkness and criticism," all the mouthpieces joined in praising the party's glory which occupied not only 80 percent, but more than 90 percent of the newspaper space.

At this point, a thought suddenly came to mind: the proposal of Hu Jiwei, former chief editor of RENMIN RIBAO, for the drafting of press law in 1983. Now that 1 year and 7 months have elapsed, nothing further has been heard of the draft. This is easy to understand. Since newspapers serve as the party's mouthpiece, how can the party's voice be controlled by law? However, when there is no law, and only the party's order counts, wouldn't the relaxed and harmonious environment for newspapers be merely empty talk?

#### 'Bird-Cage' Type Freedom

Hong Kong PAI HSING [THE PEOPLE] in Chinese No 127, 1 Sep 86 pp 54-55

[Article by Zheng Jingming [6774 6975 2494], graduate student of department of journalism, Chinese University: "Press Freedom of a Bird-cage Type"]

#### [Text] Publicity Offensive of the Press

For more than half a month, there has been a spate of news about the vehement demand for press reform by the newspapers and journals in Communist China. This extraordinary phenomenon deserves an in-depth study.

Since the publication of the speech of Hu Yaobang, General Secretary of CPC Central Committee, "On the Party's Newspaper Work," which attracted great attention at home and abroad, the basic line has been laid down, and the policy of 80 percent brightness and 20 percent darkness in news reporting and party leadership must be upheld according to the central committee's policy decisions. Does the present publicity offensive for reform mean that Hu Yaobang's policy theory is now out-dated? What is the target at which the spearhead is pointing in this offensive? Will there be a major reform for the press in Communist China? These questions are receiving the close attention of those who are concerned with personnel changes and press theories in Communist China, and with the continuance of press freedom in Hong Kong after 1997.

If we will pay just a little attention to the work style constantly used in Communist China, it will not be difficult to discover that whenever any important change in policy, line or principle is about to take place, a publicity offensive would usually be organized to prepare people's minds for subsequent explanations and education. Then after due deliberation, the change will be publicized. Such a work style has been only too familiar to

people ever since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949. In the past, publicity offensives were usually guided by the higher authorities; the Central Committee must first formulate the policy and later relay it to the lower levels through the press for implementation. This time, did the call for press reform originate from the upper levels as before, or is it the outcome of some purely spontaneous action on the part of the press? A preliminary study shows that the former is evidently the case.

#### The Essence of Demand for Reform

Let us first untangle the threads leading to the outcries for reform.

At the end of July this year, some prominent press units of Communist China held a press symposium in Beijing, and the proceedings were published in ZHONGGUO BAOKAN BAO. This "newspaper of newspapers" is not for public circulation, and outsiders have practically no way of knowing the details about this symposium.

Nevertheless, we have been able to piece together some bits of information from other media in Communist China. KUNMING RIBAO, for example, believed that "class struggle" and "the movement to clear away ideological contamination," if over-stressed, would handicap news reporting. JIEFANG RIBAO [as published] and BEIJING RIBAO expressed the view that press reform should start with the leading strata, meaning that the leadership of press units should reduce their intervention, while NONGMIN RIBAO opposed the excessive restrictions for correspondents.

Next, ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE of Communist China reported on the repercussions from some newspapers. For example, GONGREN RIBAO called for abolition of the "uniform way to guide public opinion," and the usual work style of "using the big stick" and "seizing on others' faults, and for the prevention of "final reckoning," "affixing labels," and, above all, "checking on people's background." A RENMIN RIBAO article held that the concepts of reading newspapers and publishing newspapers should be changed simultaneously, that dissenting views of people on social issues should be publicized, that more public forums should be set up, and that permitting only one voice to be heard would be improper. The English language CHINA DAILY revealed that some scholars demanded more flexible leadership over the press and permission for other parties to publish their own periodicals.

Later, from 9 to 15 August, the Central Committee propaganda department again held a symposium of the chief editors of all provincial newspapers in Harbin of northeastern China. Teng Teng [3326 3326], deputy director of the Propaganda Department said at the meeting: The press reform should proceed through explorations in order to make the party media readable, trustworthy, and beloved as the readers' bosom friend. Then more than 30 chief editors expressed dissatisfaction with their own newspapers and placed their hope for improvement in the press reform. They believed that "reform of the press should begin with freedom of the press."

In short, the main substance of the reform demanded by the press is as follows: more flexible guidance from the party, the right of editors to publish any news, the freedom of news coverage by correspondents, and the right of civilians to publish newspapers. In the final analysis, they wanted the CPC to "loosen the bonds" and to let newspapers operate more independently.

This liberalization in press reform has evidently been encouraged by the Propaganda Department. In other words, it is the same kind of publicity offensive originating at the higher levels, with the spearhead, in appearance, pointing "directly" at the press policy "graced" by Hu Yaobang.

### Using Your Spear To Jab at Your Shield

In his speech "On the Party's Newspaper Work," Hu Yaobang unequivocally stated: "The party's press is the party's mouthpiece," and "on the whole, it functions under the unified leadership of the Central Committee and in accordance with the party's line, principles and policies." "Regardless of the way the reform will be conducted, it must not in the slightest degree alter the character of the party's press or the relationship between the press and the party." "The political orientation and basic policies of the party Central Committee and the State Council represent the people's interests. On these basic issues, it is inevitable and natural that everyone's voice is the same, whereas the arbitrary airing of 'dissident' views would be unnatural." He further set the rules for news reporting: "Generally, 80 percent about achievements, brightness, and praises and 20 percent about shortcomings, darkness and criticism."

The irony is that before Hu Yaobang made this speech, Hu Jiwei [5170 4921 0251], then "vice chairman of the Education, Science, Culture, and Public Health Committee of the NPC," held a symposium of the leaders of many Hong Kong newspapers in Shenzhen, and listened to their views on the drafting of "China's Press Law." The chilling wind whipped up by Hu Yaobang on the restriction of press freedom gave Hong Kong people the worry that the forthcoming "China's Press Law" may mean, after all, only a change in label without any change in content. What safeguard will there be for freedom of the press in Hong Kong after 1997?

However, Hu Yaobang's speech is said to be the handiwork of Hu Qiaomu [5170 0829 2606], the person in charge of ideological work in the Politburo of CPC Central Committee, intended to oppose the so-called bourgeois liberalization, while Hu Yaobang made this speech as a gesture to appease the "conservatives" for the sake of party unity. Now that the appeasement is over, will Hu Yaobang repudiate his own press policy and turn around to launch this publicity offensive against the "conservatives"? Incidentally, many leading figures of Zhongnanhai were spending their time at the summer resort Beidaihe in the past several months. Does this mean that some important personnel changes in the party were being planned? Would the "conservatives" headed by Hu Qiaomu make their silent exit? Furthermore, will the publication of "China's Press Law," which Hu Jiwei has been drafting for a long time, be timed to collaborate with the coming change in the political power structure?

### Mao Zedong's "Vaccination"

In fact, as long as the four principles are upheld in Communist China, the hope for any press freedom of the Western type would be unrealistic. Therefore, the "loosening of bonds" they are fighting for in news reporting may possibly be "press freedom of the bird-cage type." To all communist parties in the world, the tools of publicity are as important as guns.

There are now more than 1,700 newspapers in Communist China, and most of them are run by CPC organs. Only three of them are run by democratic parties, all without any shade of civilian independence. Under the policy of party monopoly, as we believe, the press reform can hardly be of real significance. The most we can expect is probably a change from the 8-2 to an 7-3 ratio.

Way back in 1957, Mao Zedong published an article entitled, "Reading 'Reference News' Means Receiving Vaccination." He believed that increasing the circulation of "Reference News" and publishing "Reactionary Statements" is like laying down some poisonous weeds before the people and the democratic leaders for their tempering. "Don't block off these statements, or they would become dangerous." Therefore, Hu Yaobang may justify his own action by claiming that shelving his speech "On the Party's Press Work" for the time being may have the effects of vaccination to strengthen the newspapers' immunity.

From the newspapers' demand for press freedom in Communist China, it may be worthwhile for us to watch the answers to these two questions:

1. Will there be some important top-level personnel changes in Communist China in the next few months?
2. Will "China's Press Law" be published soon, and, if so, what effects will it have on Hong Kong's freedom of press after 1997?

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

ZHAO ZIYANG'S MIDDLE SCHOOL EXPERIENCES RELATED

[Editorial Report] An article in Wuhan CHANGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 28 October 1986, page 4, discusses Premier Zhao Ziyang's middle school experience in Wuhan. Prior to his joining the communist guerrillas following the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, Zhao spent a year in Wuhan as a senior middle school student. A good student since his junior middle school years in Kaifeng, Zhao preferred social sciences to mathematics and natural science. Fellow students described him as diligent in study, keen in his observations and eloquent in debates. Zhao disliked personal disputes among his peers, often reminding them that China's resistance to Japanese aggression should outweigh all other concerns. While studying at Wuhan, Zhao expressed his opposition to military training imposed by the Kuomintang, for which he was confined to his dormitory. Unyielding in his attitude during the confinement, he killed time by writing poems. Zhao led a simple, spartan life while a student, as he rarely patronized restaurants, dressed modestly, and studied diligently even on Sundays.

CSO: 4005/181

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CPC STRENGTHENS UNITED FRONT WORK

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 27 Sep 86 p 5

[Article by Geng Jun [5105 6874]: "CPC To Strengthen United Front Work and Expand the Target of Unity; According to the Inside Information of the Sixth Plenum of the 12th CPC Central Committee"]

[Text] Several high-class hotels in Beijing have already begun to receive members of the CPC Central Committee who came from all over the country to attend the coming 6th Plenum of the 12th CPC Central Committee.

According to the decision of the 5th Plenum of the 12th CPC Central Committee held in 1985, the main item on the agenda of the 6th plenum will be on ideological progress. In the past 6 months or so, ideological liberation, an increasingly heavy atmosphere of democracy, and respect for intellectuals were considered as the results of ideological progress whereas existing problems of party work style, unhealthy social practices, and the corruption of cadres were attributed to the lack of attention to ideology. Because of this, the task of ideological progress set forth several years ago has now become the main item on the agenda of the sixth plenum.

According to the inside information supplied by reliable sources, the CPC will set forth, at the sixth plenum, a "common ideal," which has a broader meaning compared with the previous one, urging all Chinese regardless of party affiliation to unite as long as they can contribute to the prosperity of the country and the people. The criterion for judging achievements and errors will be simplified just to see whether one's action is conducive to the prosperity of the country and the people, the stability, and unity. This is a new formulation for strengthening the united front work.

The 6th Plenum of the 12th CPC Central Committee will show the determination of the CPC to carry out the reforms of economic and political structures and promote ideological progress in accordance with the the general goal of economic construction.

The CPC Central Committee has now defined ideological progress as ideological and cultural progress. Its functions will be gradually expanded. In other words, material progress should create material conditions for ideological progress whereas ideological progress should provide ideological and

intellectual support for material progress and provide effective ideological guarantees for its correct development.

The draft of the "Resolution on the guiding principles of ideological progress" was discussed and adopted in principle by the political bureau of the CPC Central Committee at an August meeting. This document containing 10,000 words was distributed to the members of party committees and groups of all departments under the CPC Central Committee and the State Council, provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, as well as non-party democratic personages to solicit opinions.

It is reported that the reform of the political structure expected by the people will not be included in the discussions of the 6th Plenum of the 12th CPC Central Committee and that small personnel changes may occur but nothing surprising.

Not long ago, the higher levels of the CPC revealed that major personnel changes will occur in the plenum of the 13th CPC Central Committee to be held next year. Whether this plenum will have several standing committee members of the political bureau speak at the plenum like they did at previous meetings, and whether they will give a little hint for next year's large shuffle will be the focus of attention.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

ECONOMIC CORRUPTION RAMPANT, EVOKE STERN MEASURES

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 1 Aug 86 p 19

[Article by Burkhard Kieker: "Infected With the Virus of Corruption--Constant Increase in the Number of Economic Crimes Since the Opening to Capitalism"]

[Text] The business of Mr Wang Yemin was going splendidly. Whenever Japanese color television sets--imported by Deng Xiaoping's economic reformers with valuable foreign exchange--were again sold out everywhere in Beijing, Mr Wang knew what to do. The resourceful businessman entered into his contracts with the buying agents of the state department stores with roasted duck and Mongolian fire pot in Beijing's elegant restaurants. Sometimes the contracts were for 2,000 televisions, sometimes for 10,000. Mr Wang also hinted where he got the desired sets: he has "guanxi," good connections with the top, a magic word in China. He promised to deliver more than 60,000 Japanese color sets.

After his account had received down payments equal to DM2.4 million, Mr Wang decided that from then on he would "deal in grain" as well. And he had a lucky hand there too. Furnished with a state export license, he promised Chinese farmers that he would sell 500,000 tons of grain abroad. He again received a commission of DM1 million. But then the Beijing police ended the streak of luck of the agile businessman.

The commercial house of Mr Wang was essentially composed of an expensive calling card and a mailbox address as in the proven Liechtenstein model. Only the export license was real: state officials had issued it in exchange for a sizeable bribe.

Like a Prairie Fire

A certain Mr Guo Guangsen from Harbin in the north of China likewise knew how to utilize the new reform zeal of the People's Republic. As the head of a state depot for building material, he manipulated the books a little and thus was easily able to prove tremendous losses. Guo was then allowed to reorganize the inefficient state enterprise, indeed as a private citizen. Because building materials are scarce and can be sold at horrendous prices, it was mainly Mr Guo who was soon restored. When the whole thing fell apart, it

was, along with the business manager, 10 key officials of the Harbin city administration who went to prison. They had covered up the dealings in exchange for cash and natural produce.

The three managers of a large pharmacy in south China who illegally sold hartshorn extract and ginseng roots to a Hong Kong Chinese were relatively small fish. Their reward: a refrigerator, a television set, and a bicycle, respectively.

Since Deng Xiaoping sent the People's Republic of China on a new "long march" toward becoming an industrial nation with his formula of "a little bit of market and a little bit of capitalism," bribery, embezzlement and profiteering have spread in the country like a prairie fire. Meanwhile, corruption and the misuse of power have affected all areas of the heretofore so prude society, including administration, industry and even the military. Foreign visitors who--armed with a good deal of sympathy for Chinese socialism--were once fond of speaking of China as the most honest country in the world are now shocked when the taxi driver tries to cheat them on the way from the airport to their hotel.

#### Endangered Innocence

"Communist China is about to lose its innocence," complains a Beijing intellectual, "many of my countrymen are forgetting dignity and modesty and now think only about money." Indeed, China's flirt with capitalism has brought the country a wave of materialism and a frenzy of consumption after decades of bitter poverty. The "four great modernizations" (agriculture, industry, science and the military) ordered by the leadership in Beijing have long since been replaced in the vernacular with "refrigerator, washing machine, color television, and video recorder." And more and more Chinese have the money for these acquisitions. It is the small economic freedoms that for the first time give the huge population the chance to achieve some modest prosperity.

Those who with diligence and good ideas have already achieved something, as in the case of the renowned 10,000-yuan peasants or the clever bicycle repairman at the side of the road, are being extolled by the press as the model people of Deng's society based on performance.

But whereas retailers and craftsmen have now become the new elite in income, officials and party cadres must largely forego the blessings of the reforms. They are not allowed to have businesses. Many cannot resist the temptation to use at least their power for financial gain. The 28,000 so-called enterprise societies have proven to be an especially lucrative living. They were established in 1984 as independent enterprises in the course of the urban reforms to curtail the all-encompassing state activities--in construction, for example--the motto being: flexibility instead of bureaucracy.

In this way, the administrative officials who have come up short heretofore were able to take a big slice out of the reform pie. And because many of them, in addition to their agency jobs, made themselves managers of the new enterprises, they were able to place orders with themselves and negotiate

prices. In addition to their official pay and their managers' salary, they were able to collect even more, for it was possible to set aside a nice little commission for the orders given themselves. Ma Xueliang, head of the Beijing city works, is said to have "skimmed off" more than 1.5 million yuan (DM1.2 million) in this way prior to his arrest, not even counting the regular delicatessen deliveries from his submanagers, who were supposed to keep him in a good mood. Meanwhile, on orders from Beijing, 10,000 of these "gold mines" had to close.

Because China, with its opening to the West and the reforms, is in completely uncharted territory, precisely the economy has become an El Dorado for people whom the West calls "white-collar" delinquents. There are plenty of opportunities for foreign-exchange offenses or embezzlement in the still-raw mixed system of socialism and capitalism. The administration and judicial system are often helpless in the face of crimes that have heretofore been known only in Western gangster films. In the first 9 months of last year alone, 20,000 economic crimes were uncovered. The Chinese auditing office reported losses of 9 billion yuan (DM7 billion).

But that is not all: besides the financial bloodletting (generally at the expense of the stocks of foreign exchange), ideological harm is also threatening. Party cadres in particular are susceptible to the virus of corruption, according to the results of an investigatory commission. Some 67,000 party members, seen by the communists as the vanguard of the revolution and a model for the working class, have been caught in crooked dealings so far.

#### Red Graft

Especially devastating for the people is the impression that the comrades are covering themselves through a kind of giant red network of connections. If the delinquents are children, relatives or friends of high-level cadres, they usually disappear elegantly from the public line of fire. The trial then bogs down or is not even initiated. The Chinese call this "opening the umbrella."

Apart from big scandals, the corruption has already eaten through to the lower levels. So-called "ticket sharks," who used "guanxi" to buy up large blocks of always-scarce movie or train tickets to resell them at inflated prices, provoked the wrath of the people last year.

All of this did not seem to concern top Chinese politician Deng Xiaoping, who directs reform policy from behind the scenes with no representative offices. In 1984, he calmly characterized the corruption as an inevitable "dislocation on the fringe of modernization." At the latest when local party bosses on the tropical Chinese island of Hainan illegally ordered 89,000 automobiles and complete television factories for just under \$2 billion in Japan, it became clear to the Beijing leadership as well that the corruption and mismanagement in the country can no longer be treated as a trifling matter.

"The price of the reforms is too high," dissatisfied students wrote in September 1985 in their wall newspapers. Critical questions about the "evil winds from the West" were mixed in with the protests of that time against the

flooding of China with Japanese products. And in the meetings of the street committees, it was mainly the older generation that was complaining: they first fought the corrupt Kuomintang regime of Chiang Kai-shek before 1949 and now things will soon be back the way they were.

A final clear alarm signal for Deng and his reform team was the special congress of the Communist Party in September of last year. There, for the first time, the declared opponents of reform dared to come out of hiding. Chen Yun, the aged head of the party's central disciplinary committee and probably Deng's most powerful opponent in the Politburo, railed before the assembled party congress against the infiltration of "decadent capitalist ideology" into China and criticized the corruption of the cadres, who "have lost sight of the great ideal of communism and the good of the people."

He implored the delegates not to sacrifice the "intellectual civilization of socialism" to the reforms. The delegates applauded enthusiastically. Besides the conflagration of corruption, it was above all the bad news about the disappearing reserves of foreign exchange and the double-digit inflation--concealed only with difficulty--that forced Deng's reform team into the defensive.

It was then necessary to take action. A large-scale campaign against corruption began at the beginning of November. Since then, newspapers and the radio have been reporting notably frequently on abuses and at the beginning the Chinese were able to inform themselves daily on arrests and the Draconian punishment of those profiteering from the reforms. And the "ticket sharks" ran into trouble as well. On 2 December, on the personal orders of party chief Hu Yaobang, they were "fished off" the 180 largest railroad stations in the country.

When 8,000 party veterans met at the beginning of the year in Beijing's Great Hall of the People, Premier Zhao Ziyang gave an accounting of the party's work style. He denounced

- unnecessary foreign trips and goodwill visits at state expense,
- immoderate banquets for insignificant reasons,
- the illegal extra earnings of the cadres in industry,
- the illegal importation of automobiles and the protection of friends to secure advantages for them.

Central Committee Secretary Hu Qili was even more straightforward, saying that everyone was equal before the law in China and that vigorous and uncompromising action would now be taken even against high cadres: "Whoever must be arrested will be arrested, whoever must be executed will be executed." That was meant seriously. When in Shanghai in February three sons of high cadres appeared in court charged with raping more than 50 women, hardly anyone among the public believed that anything would happen to them. One of the delinquents, Chen Xiaoming, son of the former propaganda chief of the city, had sneered at a victim: "Nothing is going to happen to me anyway." A half

hour after the verdict, Chen and his accomplices met their deaths before the firing squad in the soccer stadium.

#### Bad Tradition

In the meantime, reflection is mixing in with the lamentations of conservative cadres on the "evil winds" and the imploring of the 1950's (at that time, a climate of solidarity and moral uprightness prevailed after the victory over the hated Kuomintang regime). The distinguished Chinese sociologist Fei Xiaotong considers the often-heard stereotype that everything bad comes from the West to be "too simple." In the magazine, CHINA IM AUFBAU, he points out the long tradition of nepotism and favoritism in China and follows up with an old saying: "Even if a district manager has been known for 3 years to be an incorruptible official, he has already filled his pockets with 100,000 snow-white silver dollars."

According to Fei, these feudal roots are now reappearing because of the favorable circumstances for them. Through feudal thinking and the political confusion of recent decades, many Chinese had an extremely defective legal awareness. It will take a while yet to change the thinking of people.

So it might be feared that other people will have experiences similar to that of the German businessman who had sold some textile machines to a production team near Shanghai. When he arrived to sign the contract after tough negotiations, his Chinese partners had added an insignificant clause: the free delivery of a metallic gold Mercedes 280 SE.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

UNHEALTHY PRACTICES IN HORIZONTAL ECONOMIC TIES REVEALED

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 15 Aug 86 p 2

[Article by staff reporter Zheng Hanjin [6774 3352 3866]: "Guard Against Speculation and Other Illegal Activities in Horizontal Economic Ties"]

[Excerpt] The main expressions of using economic ties to engage in speculation and other illegal activities are: 1) Deliberately violating relevant state laws, regulations and policies to resell major means of production such as automobiles and steel products for profits. The South China office of a certain ministry engaged in joint management with a certain trading company in Wuhan, Hubei Province. In the name of an integrated body, this office purchased 43 automobiles and 1,032 tons of steel products which were under planned distribution and resold them to an industrial company for 450,000 yuan of profits. Later, under the pretense of "joint profits," it gained more profits by collecting an additional of 10,000 yuan from each automobile they sold at state prices. 2) Using economic ties to infringe upon the interests of the other party. In the name of integration, a city cement and machine-building labor service company in Hubei Province and a town of Yangxin County established an "automotive repair plant" with the former providing technology and 50,000 yuan of investment and the latter providing the site and general labor. The plant made very good profits after its opening. But, while the staff of the cement and machine-building plant went home for the Mid-Autumn Festival, the town unilaterally decided to discontinue the integration and went on to divide up 50,000 yuan of profits without permission from the other party. 3) Using economic ties as a swindle to get funds. A business firm of a steel plant in Hubei Province and a township in Daye County of this province jointly established a "steel detector company" with the former providing 150,000 yuan of investment and the latter providing the site. After the business firm remitted 150,000 yuan to this township, the steel detector company was not established, but the money was used by this township and could not be returned. 4) Using economic ties and investment to resell imported goods for profits. A joint venture in a county of Guangdong Province applied for the establishment of a joint venture with a Mr. Chen from a Hong Kong firm and in the name of running a "car rental company," gained the approval of the departments concerned to import from Hong Kong 12 duty-free air-conditioned Toyota vans which were manufactured in Japan. Under the pretense of contracting, this company sold the 12 vehicles to five units at a price ranging from 66,000 yuan to 73,000 yuan for each and received 810,000 yuan in car payments including 634,000 yuan of profits for the Mr. Chen of Hong Kong.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CADRES' RIGHT TO SEE PERSONAL FILES DISCUSSED

Beijing XIN GUANCH [NEW OBSERVER] in Chinese No 16, 25 Aug 86 p 4

[Article by Chen Sanle [7115 0005 2867]: "Cadres' Files Should be Open to Cadres"; written in May 1985, revised in June 1986]

[Text] Cadres' files refer mainly to personal cadre records. If cadres violate laws and discipline or currently engage in activities as enemy spies, their cases will be handled by political and judicial departments. Strictly speaking, such cases will not be filed under the category of cadres' personal records. Cadres' files concern the political and professional qualities of cadres, their organizational skills, ideological quality, and creative spirit, etc. In other words, they are cadres' personal historical records. Personal history is written by the individuals themselves. Why are we not allowed to see the history we wrote ourselves? Even a criminal, after his arrest and trial, is given access to the bill of indictment which has detailed contents concerning the facts of his crime and the observance of law. He is also allowed to exercise his right to defense. The result of such a practice can only help the criminal admit his crime and submit to law. At the same time, it can also play a role in deepening education in legal system and preventing perversion. If we can be so open with criminals, why can't we stop being so mysterious about cadres' work? Will we turn the world upside down if we do? Keeping cadres' files from cadres themselves has caused many tragedies (This article has cited many typical cases which are not published due to a limited space--Editor).

As a matter of fact, the hush-hush practice of cadres' work has been gradually eliminated even in the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Eastern Europe such as Hungary, Poland, and Bulgaria. In the employment of cadres, they have long smashed the traditional model which they used for a long time in the past when their cadres were chosen by leaders, examined by organizational and personnel departments, and then approved after discussion by party committees. Today's methods can be summarized generally into three: 1) First, cadres will be recommended by grassroots units. Second, a public hearing will be held to solicit opinions extensively from activists inside and outside the party, immediate supervisors, grassroots personnel, and persons concerned. Third, detailed investigation, evaluation and appraisal of vocational skills will be conducted. When carrying out such work, the masses and the cadres themselves will not be kept in the dark. 2) On the basis of

evaluation and appraisal, cadres are encouraged to compete for their posts. In other words, when electing leaders at all levels and making appointments for certain vocational leading positions, several persons are often selected as reserves for one position in an effort to promote competition. 3) Various methods should be used to understand cadres' situations to avoid subjectivity, one-sidedness, and judging by personal preference. Issues concerning foreign countries shunning secretive practices in the employment and training of cadres have already been introduced by our newspapers and periodicals, but, unfortunately, we have not yet used them as a reference. To sum up, I would like to state some of my opinions on the question of how to open cadres' files to cadres themselves.

1. All historical records of cadres should be sorted out. This is an extremely serious scientific project which must be done in a truth-seeking manner by people with breadth of vision who also have a strong party spirit and fine qualities. Without the spirit of a high degree of responsibility to the party and people, one is reluctant or dares not to take the risk and responsibility to help other people clear up questions and get rid of burdens. Those sheer absurd documents concerning ridiculous frame-ups and cases which had a good reason but where no evidence was found must be all sorted out through individual authentication (those documents which are really worth saving for the purpose of reference, copies may be made). Especially those political documents with big red seals must be sorted to eliminate the false and retain the true.

2. Cadres should be allowed to see their own files. After cadres' historical records are all sorted out, arrangements should be made in a planned manner to let cadres read their own files in the reading rooms of archives. This practice not only can let cadres recall the roads they have taken and see what kind of experience and lesson they should remember from their history but also helps in making good omissions and deficiencies, eliminating the false, and retaining the true.

3. Cadres' evaluation should be carried out openly in a face-to-face manner. For a long time, cadres' evaluation was carried out in a "back-to-back" manner which is considered as an iron discipline and unbreakable model. Practices have proved that it not only is unsuitable for today's new situation but also has many defects. The issue of "face-to-face" openness we are talking about here mainly means that the object of evaluation should be made public to the masses. The masses should be organized in a guided manner to hold discussions and the personages of all fields should be called to symposiums so that they can make face-to-face appraisals, exercise mutual supervision, make fair comments, and avoid undeserved praises and covert animosity. At the same time, they can also investigate the person "face-to-face." This practice can help better understand the whole story and prevent possible misunderstandings resulting from the ignorance of the person and his profession. Moreover, the practice of "face-to-face" evaluation can also solve the problem of false accusations and stop repeating previous tragedies caused by "secret complaints and internal accusations" in a trap to frame innocent people. To solve the problem of false accusation, first, we should perfect the legal system and have those who make false accusation take legal responsibility. Second, we should bring into the open those "small tricks" and "small reports" which are

proved to be false accusations and verify facts in a "face-to-face" manner to clarify rights and wrongs and redeem one's reputation. We must not practice old tricks such as "trial in absentia" and "correcting mistakes if you have made any or guarding against them if you have not" to go through the motion and abet evil by tolerating it.

4. Cadres should sign their own files. From now on, all records put into a cadre's file must be shown to and signed by the cadre himself before they can be filed; otherwise, it should be considered as a violation of law and discipline. This issue should be included in party rules and regulations. Cadres' files contain cadres' matters, cadres should have the right to know their own affairs. No matter what it is, as long as one did it and the conclusion has been drawn in accordance with facts, there is no way he can deny it. This practice not only can teach the cadre a profound lesson on how to learn from each others' strong points to offset one's weaknesses but also can achieve the purpose of "withstanding the test of history" which is a long-term demand by our party.

If we can stop being mysterious about cadres' work and open all cadres' files to cadres themselves, it will be a great boost to the enthusiasm of cadres and a great liberation of talented people. I did not write this article on the spur of the moment. It is the result of years of thinking. I did a great deal of investigation and research on this issue. I also solicited opinions extensively from comrades engaging in cadres' work and in charge of archives for many years. On this issue, many supported my views and shouted "bravo" while others were worried and tried to stop me. They think this is a forbidden zone; therefore, making such an exploration may be a waste of energy. What is worse, it may invite many unpleasant things. After thinking it over, I decided that in order to promote the reform and progress, there should be no fear.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

RENMIN RIBAO ON RENEWAL OF LEGAL THEORIES

HK060605 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Sep 86 p 5

[Article by Yu Haocheng [0002 3185 2052]: "Renewal and Development of Legal Theories--On the Class and Social Character of Laws"]

[Text] In recent years, the legal circles in our country have started warm discussions on the issue of the class and social character of law, or the basic concepts of law. It is a welcome and very gratifying phenomenon. The issue of basic concepts of law, or the essential properties of law, is the most basic issue of legal theories. At present, as our country is in a new historical period of socialist construction, the study and research of this issue is of important realistic significance not only to the upholding and development of Marxist legal theories but also to the strengthening of the building of the legal system in our country.

An Annotation Added by Engels

Forty years after the publishing of "Manifesto of the Communist Party," Engels added an annotation to the sentence, "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles," explaining that what he had said that "the history of all hitherto existing society" "exactly means all written history." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol I. p 251) From this annotation added by Engels, we can derive great inspirations: First, Marx and Engels always revised and replenished their works, in an effort to make them well-knit, perfect and scientifically invulnerable. Second, as we are living in a class society, restricted by conditions and often not seeing the forest for the trees, we consciously or unconsciously tend to regard the class society as all societies. While observing and thinking about issues, a considerable number of comrades often confine themselves to the scope of class society and fail to review the history of social development as a whole. Therefore, when defining laws, they cannot epitomize the legal phenomena in different societies. They insist on the conclusions that the class character is the only essential attribute of laws; if there is no class, there is no law; primitive society did not have laws, nor will the future proletarian society; and so on. The problem is that this outmoded concept has continued basically unchanged since the 1950's (in fact, this concept is copied from the definition of laws given by the Russian Vyshinsky and is a component part of the theory

of "taking class struggle as the key link"), and is far from suiting the needs of the present conditions in our country. It cannot answer such a realistic question: Under the circumstances when our country no longer has an exploiting class and class struggle is no longer the main contradiction in the society, will it still be necessary for us to strengthen the building of the legal system? It cannot give a correct and rational answer in terms of the legal theories, either.

#### In Addition to the Class Character, Do Laws Have a Social Character in a Class Society?

It should be pointed out, however, that in the discussions so far, we have not yet read an article or listened to a speech negating the strong class character of laws in the class society. In other words, on this issue people have an identical view and do not have any dispute. Nevertheless, the point is: Apart from the class character, do laws also have a social character? Can we say that the class character is the only essential attribute of laws?

It should be noted that just as the state has both a class and social character, laws also have these two characters. The class character of laws refers to laws reflecting the will of a ruling class. Through enacting laws, the ruling class safeguards the interests of its own class, suppresses the resistance of the ruled, and maintains and strengthens its rule. However, apart from the above mentioned role of being tools of class struggle, or having "all kinds of special functions derived from the antithesis between government and the masses" once mentioned by Marx, laws also have common functions, or the roles of public facilities which are indispensable to all societies. This is what we call the social character or the commonness of laws. For example, the laws of all countries throughout history have all contained legal norms regarding the building of water conservancy projects, the cultivation of land at appropriate times, the exploitation of resources, environmental protection, the maintenance of transportation safety and order, and so on. These are the expressions of the social character of laws.

For those comrades who hold that class character is the only essential attribute of laws and that laws only reflect the will of the ruling class and do not recognize the social character of laws, it is very difficult to explain the question that some legal norms are also advantageous to the ruled (for example, the British bill of working 10 hours per day, cited by "Manifesto of the Communist Party"). Therefore, they often try to explain that some people of the ruling class were far-sighted and realized that making some concessions to the ruled might eventually benefit the ruling class themselves. However, if this kind of explanation is interpreted as affirming the class character of laws, it is more appropriate to interpret it as affirming the social character of laws. Therefore, this fact exactly demonstrates that even the ruling class cannot do as they please or disregard the interests of society as a whole. Because the ruling class should also be restricted by the social reality, we can thus see the social character of laws. Engels once said that

"By way of exception, however, periods occur in which the warring classes balance each other so nearly that the state power, as ostensible mediator, acquires, for the moment, a certain degree of independence of both." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 168) This means that as a "mediator," the state regulates the conflict of interests between classes through laws. Of course, in a class society, the class character of laws occupies a primary and dominant position, while the social character maintains a secondary and subordinate position. This is because the ruling class is mostly interested in safeguarding its own class interests, rather than the common interests of the whole society, notwithstanding that they often deceive and benumb the ruled and speak in defense of the legality of their rule under the signboard of representing the common interests of the society as a whole.

#### Some Laws Do Not Have Class Character

In a class society, class and social character are mutually affected and closely related. As a whole system, the bulk of laws possess a class character. Since laws are the expressions of the will of the ruling class, enacted and accepted by the ruling class through the state apparatus under its control, and the norms of conduct whose implementation is forcibly ensured by the state, it is very difficult to find laws without class character. Just as Engels once pointed out, "Property owners understand that even though some specific clauses of laws are not convenient for them, the legislation as a whole is intended to protect their interests." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 515) Nevertheless, making specific analyses of some individual laws, we should also recognize that as the contents of some laws are mainly concerned with suppressing the resistance of the ruled and using violence to maintain the rule of the ruling class, these laws more directly and ostensibly suit the needs of the ruling class and have a stronger class character. Moreover, as the contents of some laws are mainly concerned with the management of social public affairs which are advantageous to all the members of the society, these laws can more evidently and outstandingly reflect social needs and have a stronger social character and a weaker class character. There are some laws which simply do not have any class character. Apart from the "law of environmental protection," the "law of food hygiene," the "law on the prevention of water pollution," and traffic safety regulations, we can also cite some laws and decrees regarding the protection of forests, the prohibition of intermarriage, the unification of weights and measures, work on fire protection, and so on. Obviously, these laws and decrees do not have any class character at all. Proceeding from concepts rather than facts, some comrades insist that all laws in a class society have a class character. This view is a result of lacking specific analyses of specific things.

#### Laws Are Not Peculiar to Class Society

Following the founding of our country, the overwhelming view of the legal circles of the country has been that as laws are peculiar to class society, laws and classes always go together, laws are produced after the birth of

classes, and laws will not exist after the elimination of classes. Therefore, only class societies have laws. Primitive society did not have laws, nor will the future proletarian society. While proving that primitive society did not have laws and that laws originate from class societies, people always quote what Engels said in "Origin of Family, Private Property and State:" "And this gentile constitution is wonderful in all its childlike simplicity! Everything runs smoothly without soldiers, gendarmes or police; without nobles, kings, governors, prefects or judges; without prisons; without trials. All quarrels and disputes are settled by the whole body of those concerned--the gens or the tribe or the individual gentes among themselves.... Those concerned decide, and in most cases century-old custom has already regulated everything." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, pp 92-93)

In fact, Engels was here talking about the Iroquois which were right in a matriarchal society in America. Writing "Origin of Family, Private Property and State," Engels accepted Morgan's method of classification. He classified primitive society into matriarchal society and patriarchal society and cited a host of facts to prove that matriarchal society only had "customs" as norms of social conduct, while "legal customs" and "customary laws" were born in the patriarchal society. Therefore, it is a very lopsided approach to characterize all primitive society by the above quotation, because Marx and Engels never tried to prove that primitive society did not have laws. On the contrary, while talking about the origin of laws, Engels once said, "At a very early stage of social development, there was such a need: to epitomize the daily repetitive behaviors of production and product distribution and exchange with a common rule and try to make individuals obey the general conditions of production and exchange. This rule first gave expression to customs, which later on developed into laws. With the birth of laws, there must be an organ of public power responsible for upholding the laws, namely, the state." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, pp 538-539)

Thus, it is groundless to assert that primitive society did not have laws and that laws appeared only after the division of social classes. In fact, the seeds and embryonic forms of laws began to exist as early as the earliest societies, when people first grouped together. These were the customs, or the norms, for organizing social production and regulating relations within clans and among different clans. At the beginning, these customs were not mandatory but consciously observed by the people to safeguard the interests of all the social members. Later on, with the development of production and the increase of wealth, the leaders of clans and tribes had opportunities to use the public rights they possessed to gain more public interests for themselves. These customary norms gradually changed their nature and became mandatory and subsequently law. At the beginning, they were only unwritten customary laws, and the statute laws were enacted only after the founding of states.

Regarding the prospects of laws, for a long period of time some comrades in the theoretical and legal circles of our country have concluded that in light of the Marxist theory of state elimination, laws will die in the communist society. Such a conclusion is, in fact, a result of lacking a

correct and comprehensive understanding of the Marxist theory regarding the elimination of states. Engels once said, "All socialists are agreed that the political state, and with it political authority, will disappear as a result of the coming social revolution, that is, public functions will lose their political character and be transformed into the simple administrative functions of watching over the true interests of society." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 554) Therefore, the elimination of states means the elimination of those parts of the state apparatus which are used to suppress the antagonistic classes, rather than the elimination of the state apparatus as a whole. Those parts of the state apparatus that manage the social economy, culture, and various public affairs will be maintained and never be eliminated. Hence, we can envisage the prospects of law in this way: those laws with the nature of class suppression will be eliminated with the elimination of classes, but those laws with social commonness will be kept forever, and become more and more complete and perfect along with the depth and extensive development of people's economic and cultural life.

#### The Concept of Laws Should Be Renewed; and the Theory of Laws Should Be Developed

Therefore, we can see that those definitions of laws given by us in textbooks or legal works are already inadequate. At present, it is completely necessary to proceed from actual conditions to scientifically redefine laws in the light of a comprehensive and accurate understanding of the fundamental theories of Marxism. I agree with Comrade Zhang Youyu's proposition that the concepts of laws can be interpreted in a broad sense as well as a narrow sense and Comrade Zhang Zonghou's new definition of laws: "A certain law is the product of a certain material production relation, which is a summation of the norms of conducts enacted and forcibly implemented by the state or social management organs and regulating various social relations of the people." ("Legal Theories Should Be Renewed"--An Interview with Zhang Youyu and Zhang Zonghou, RENMIN RIBAO, 31 March 1986 p 5)

This definition proves that the fundamental attribute of laws depends on its objective social character and is different from the compulsory character of ethics and the standard character of common customs and habits. However, in a class society, some of the social character of laws turn into class character and occupy a primary and dominant position in the system of laws as a whole. After entering into proletarian society, the class character will gradually weaken and eventually disappear altogether, and the social character of laws as well as their compulsory and standard character will be kept forever.

On the issue of the class and social character of laws, over a considerably long period of time in the past, the legal circles in our country lop-sidedly stressed the class character of laws to the neglect of their social character. This has objective social reasons as well as subjective ideological reasons.

In terms of objective social reasons, after succeeding in revolution and gaining political power, both the Soviet Union and our country were once under the conditions of intense class struggle. Therefore, it was inevitable to lay emphasis on strengthening the proletarian dictatorship and suppressing the resistance of the antagonistic classes. This state of affairs seriously affected the building of the legal system and legal ideology.

In terms of the subjective ideological reasons, this was due to the fact that we did not sufficiently propagate dialectical materialism and tended to take a simple, absolute and one-sided approach to things. In particular, we did not pay much attention to the law of negation of the negation.

In fact, many events in life can be explained with the law of negation of the negation. We can also explain the birth and development of laws with the law of negation of the negation. As the common social norms, laws at a later stage of primitive society only possessed a social character. In class societies, they began to have a class character, which later took a primary and dominant position in the whole system of laws. In communist society, laws will once again only have the social character. Some comrades maintain that in communist society, laws will no longer be law in its original sense. In fact, this is a way of speaking in comparison with laws of class societies. If it is compared with primitive societies, law in communist societies will just have its original significance restored and be upgraded to a higher stage.

If we just stress the class character of laws to the neglect of the social character of laws, it would be difficult for us to explain the various complex phenomena of reality. (For example, the laws on the management of public affairs in the capitalist countries will constantly increase and become more and more complete and sound; and after the exploiting classes in our countries are basically eliminated, it is still necessary to strengthen the building of legal system). Moreover, it would result in the "leftist" errors of magnifying the class struggles in the actual works and the negative impacts on the theoretical issues of the continuity of laws. If we only recognize the class character but not the social character of laws, we would, of course, only negate the old laws completely and not inherit anything from them at all. In fact, since the old laws always contain something useful, we can choose with discrimination some laws of social character. This is not contradictory to the abolition of the old laws as a whole. Those erroneous "leftist" tendencies of indiscriminately "totally negating" and "thoroughly breaking with" everything in the old society of our country and in the contemporary capitalist world have already produced disastrous effects and should not be followed.

The conclusion is: Our concepts of laws should be renewed and the legal theories should develop along with the development of the actual conditions.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

## KEY TO ADMINISTRATIVE EFFICIENCY DISCUSSED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 2 Sep 86 p 1

[Commentary: "First Delegate Power, Then Simplify Administration"]

[Text] Due to disputes over trifles, irresponsibility or multiple links and barricades, an issue which should be resolved within several days or weeks may be put off for several months or a year. This is a serious common failing in the current work of public organs.

The low efficiency of public organs is the biggest headache of grassroots units. Due to the dilatory work style of public organs, they often miss opportune moments for work, resulting in the waste of manpower and material resources. Some foreigners who deal and run enterprises with us also have quite a few complaints about this. Such a slow pace and low efficiency of work has already become a major obstacle to the reform, the open-door policy, the revitalization, and the development of the commodity economy.

Low efficiency can be attributed, of course, to problems in ideology and work style, but it is basically a problem of management system. Ideological and work style problems will not be solved if problems in the management system remain unsolved. The problems in the management system can be summarized into two points: 1) Overelaborate administration--too many "government offices" and excessive divisions of labor; 2) overcentralization of power. What is the solution to this issue? In the past, the usual answer was to "simplify administration" and "delegate power" and we often tried to do something about the former first and failed to pay attention to the latter. As a matter of fact, overelaborate administration is caused by overcentralization of power. Due to the overcentralization of power, leading organs at all levels are all in charge of many things not under their jurisdiction, thereby complicating many things which are originally simple. Actually, many things are not hard to handle if higher levels set a rule and let lower levels do the work, but once they are submitted to higher levels, they become complicated. Therefore, we should reverse the order of the two tasks. "Delegating power" should be first and "simplifying administration" second. If powers are not really delegated to lower levels, simplifying administration will be nothing more than adopting a few simple merging measures for the organs themselves and going around in circles about formality. The consequence of such a practice often is the simple merger of some organs and the lay off of some people. But, before

long, merged organs will be divided again, staff will be increased, and organs will be expanded. We have carried out organizational reforms many times but we have never been able to get out of the rut that "organs will be merged after they are divided for a long time and divided after they are merged for a long time." Why is it that the more we cut the more organs we have? It is because we only tried to simplify administration and failed to delegate power.

Therefore, the key issue in the reform of the management system, including organizational reform, is delegating power. We should first delegate power and then simplify administration. Delegating power is the basic content of structural reform. Only when power is really delegated can we simplify administration in a practical manner. We should delegate power to lower levels and let lower levels and the people take care of their own things. When there are fewer "Buddhas" at the top, there will be fewer "worshippers" in the "temple" and organs will be simplified automatically.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

WANG RUOSHUI ON DEMOCRACY, LEGAL SYSTEM

Shanghai FAXUE [JURISPRUDENCE] in Chinese No 8, Aug 86 pp 19-20

[Article by staff reporter Shi Binhai [2457 3453 3189] and special contributor Chang Kai [1603 1956]: "On the Ups and Downs of Democracy and Legal System; An Interview with Famous Theorist Comrade Wang Ruoshui"]

[Excerpt] Comrade Wang Ruoshui, famous theorist and former deputy chief editor of RENMIN RIBAO, recently came to Shanghai and made an academic report to theoretical and press circles on the "double-hundred" principle. During his visit, Comrade Wang Ruoshui mentioned that lately he had made special efforts to study the Constitution and had many thoughts about it. As a philosopher, what kind of philosophic thoughts will he have from the legal point of view? For this, we conducted a special interview with Comrade Wang Ruoshui.

We Should Use Our lives To Defend the Constitution

First, Comrade Wang Ruoshui said that it was very encouraging to know that the CPC Central Committee had set forth the slogan of "creative freedom" and that intellectuals supported it as much as they did the "double-hundred" principle which was set forth in 1956. Then, he brought up a question: "Why is it that nobody pays any attention to the 1954 Constitution and the 1982 Constitution which both clearly stipulate that citizens have the freedom to engage in scientific research and literary and art creation?" He expanded on the subject by saying: "When we expound the double-hundred principle and creative freedom, we often quote what party leaders say but mention nothing about the Constitution which has more authority and is the supreme authority. Can we call this normal? This explains at least one thing that the Constitution has not struck roots in the hearts of the people and the people have not respected and enforced the Constitution as the supreme authority. This is also the reason why the "May 16th" directive alone could turn the Constitution into a piece of useless paper in the "cultural revolution." China has always had political labels of all kinds except for one--the 'violation of the Constitution.' The constitutional rights of citizens are not bestowed by any leading comrade as a favor. Instead, they should be defended and safeguarded with our lives."

Then, Comrade Wang Ruoshui addressed the issue of "popularizing the legal system" among all citizens. He thought "popularizing the legal system" was very important "because the Constitution and laws are made by the people. The people are, of course, the masters of the state. The purpose in 'popularizing the legal system' should be raising the people's consciousness of the subject of rights. Law is made to protect and serve the people; therefore, 'popularizing the legal system' should not become something that the higher level demands on the lower level and that emphasizes only the need for the people to abide by law. Speaking of observing law, first of all, the higher level should observe law. This position must not be reversed. We cannot forget that during the 10-year turmoil, a single document on "the dismissal of all posts inside and outside the party" could dismiss even the President of the state who was elected according to the Constitution. This is worth our repeated serious thinking."

"Our national people's congress should still concentrate energies on the progress of democracy. It is necessary to ensure that people's representatives can fully exercise democratic rights in the political life of the state. I have been a deputy to the national people's congress for 5 years and I have a lot of experience in this regard. Recently, Comrade Bo Yibo called attention to arousing the pride and confidence of the people. In my opinion, an important source of pride and confidence is the consciousness of the subject of rights."

#### Democracy and the Legal System Should Not Be Reversed

Comrade Wang Ruoshui talked to our staff reporters about the relation between democracy and legal system. He said: "Political democracy is the foundation and insurance of a legal system whereas law is made to protect democracy. The masses of the people are still longing and cheering for 'Qingtian' and love plays on 'the Revered Bao' and the character 'Li Qingtian' in the soap opera 'A New Star.' Why? Because there are still injustice and wrong, framed-up, and unjust cases in the world, the masses of the people are expecting for a 'Qingtian' who is impartial and incorruptible to protect their interests from 'despots' of all kinds. In the final analysis, the masses of the people hope that somebody can "back them up" instead of 'being their own masters and making their own decisions.' Therefore, this is not the consciousness of democracy in the modern sense. Once the democratic rights of the people are really established and the society legalized, the image of "Qingtian" will weaken and disappear in people's minds because by then the people will no longer need "Qingtian."

"Because of this, democracy and the legal system must be discussed together. The construction of our legal system needs political democracy for insurance and promotion. The positions of democracy and legal system must not be reversed. The people must have the consciousness of the subject of rights--namely, being their own masters. Otherwise, how could the people remain silent when the President of a state, elected by the people, was dismissed simply by a document of some kind?"

Both Academic and Political Issues May Be Contended

Wang Ruoshui said: "The free airing of views is a sign of great political integrity and strength. There is now a popular way of wording which says academic and political issues should be separated when implementing the 'double-hundred' principle, as if political issues are not allowed to be 'contended.' This involves the issue on the democratic rights of the people. For instance, if people's representatives have different views or objections to some issues (including political issues), are they allowed to bring them up for discussion? If social workers have differing political views, are they allowed to 'contend'? As a matter of fact, this issue is already resolved in China's constitution for Chinese citizens have the freedoms of speech and the press. May we ask if Chinese citizens could not exercise their freedoms of speech and the press, how could they exercise their own rights to supervise the government? How could ideological and academic theories develop? Marxism itself also progresses in the process of comparison and 'contention.' In the sphere of science, we should only submit to truth; in the sphere of politics, people's interests are above everything else. Because, people's interests coincide with truth. 'What I say goes' is not recommended. 'Leniency, harmony, unity, and understanding' are better practices. Our theoretical workers should have a tenacious fighting spirit and engage in exploration and research in a positive, bold, independent, and free manner. Since it is only exploration, the people should be allowed to air differing views. Because, we engage in academic research in order to solve existing problems, not seeking truth just for the sake of seeking truth.

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POSTSCRIPT OF WU XIUQUAN'S BOOK 'REMINISCENCES'

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Oct 86 p 4

[Summary of the postscript of "Reminiscences" by Wu Xiuquan [0124 0208 2938] and published recently by the Shanghai Literature and Art Publishing House]

[Text] Man is always advancing and looking forward. In order to make better advances, it is necessary for one to constantly look back on the road he has traversed so as to constantly sum up experiences and prevent the recurrence of errors. This is what we often say "past experience, if not forgotten, is a guide for the future." Because of this, our party made two special resolutions concerning several historical questions within the party. In the past few years, our party issued several directives on the research and data collection of party history and called on old comrades to do a good job in writing the reminiscences of revolution and put in writing their experience and what they knew so as to preserve and salvage the party's historical data and provide relatively full, accurate, and concrete materials for later generations to understand history and study traditions. These instructions and practices of the party, in my opinion, are very correct and necessary. As time goes by, a large number of old comrades who made major contributions to and put in a lot of hard work for the causes of the party and the people have stepped down or are stepping down from the stage of history. Some have passed away. As their comrades-in-arms and contemporaries, we have the obligation to tell later generations about their feats and achievements. As for those comrades who were attacked and slandered, we are even more obliged to help them restore their original honor. For this, in the past few years, I have written a number of my reminiscences and articles to commemorate old comrades. Some of which have been published on newspapers and periodicals.

I have considered that the reason I wrote these is to publicize and introduce our party's struggle in the past decades and let the new generation gain enlightenment and learn from the successes, failures, joys, and sorrows of their predecessors. Since I published some of my scripts, they have indeed drawn vigorous responses from many readers and positive appraisals from some leading comrades of the central government. They have all warmly encouraged me to continue my writing.

I have long engaged in military and foreign affairs work and have very little talent in literature and poetry. I wrote and published these scripts only

because I do not want to be unworthy of the great time I experienced or disappoint the outstanding comrades I knew so well, and more importantly, because it is needed by the reality. They are at most a fragment of the incomparably glorious and magnificent epic of our party's revolution.

I must explain that although this book is under my name, it actually contains many comrades' work and efforts. The Central Commission for the Collection of Historical Party Materials, and some newspapers, periodicals, publishing houses, and concerned organizations have also given me great help and support. I extend deep appreciation to them and wish that all comrades who read this book will think of their merits and accomplishments.

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EAST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

LI GUIXIAN ATTENDS LONG MARCH TEA PARTY

OW231052 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 21 Oct 86

[Excerpts] The Anhui Provincial CPC Committee, Government, and Military District this morning held a tea party at the main hall of (Daoxianglou) Guesthouse to mark the 50th anniversary of the success of the Red Army's Long March. Responsible comrades of the party, government, and Army in the province Li Guixian, Wang Yuzhao, Yuan Zhen, Shi Junjie, Yang Yongliang, (Wang Zhengxin), Lan Ganting, (Qu Jianxiao), Xia Deyi, Yang Chengzong, Zheng Jiaqi, and Zhang Honggui; and responsible comrades of the PLA units stationed in Anhui (Wei Bin), (Li Zhenhua), and (Zhou Fang) attended the tea party.

The tea party was hosted by Governor Wang Yuzhao. Shi Junjie, deputy secretary of the provincial party committee and chairman of the provincial CPPCC Committee spoke at the tea party. On behalf of the provincial party committee, government, and military district, he extended cordial greetings to the Red Army veterans and toasted to their cheerful spirits, health, and longevity.

Comrade Shi Junjie said: The Red Army was the glorious paragon of ideals, moral, and discipline. Its lofty spirit of staunchness and loyalty dedicated to the revolutionary ideal and cause in those years is still an indispensable spiritual force that must be aroused in developing the material and spiritual civilizations today.

He called on the leading cadres of the party and government organs at all levels, all enterprises and institutions, and all party members in the province to take the lead to study, inherit, and carry forward the revolutionary spirit of the Red Army's Long March; to devote more efforts to promoting their own spiritual civilization; and to use their exemplary actions and hard work to organize and push forward the development of the spiritual civilization of the whole society.

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EAST REGION

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LI GUIXIAN ADDRESSES LONG MARCH MEETING IN HEFEI

OW251209 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 22 Oct 86

[Excerpts] Today the Anhui Provincial Party Committee and Government ceremoniously held in the Jianghuai Theater, Hefei, a meeting to mark the 50th anniversary of the Long March victory of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. Sitting on the rostrum, which was covered with flowers, were responsible persons of the provincial party committee, the provincial advisory committee, the provincial people's congress, the provincial government, the provincial CPPCC committee, the provincial discipline inspection committee, and the provincial military district, as well as Red Army veterans. Sitting in the front row at the rostrum were Li Guixian, Yuan Zhen, Shi Junjie, Li Shinong, Huang Yan, (Wang Sheng), Su Yu, Gao Langping, (Zhang Qingshen), Zhang Honggui, (Rong Yukun), Zhao Baoxing, and (Wang Shenjun). Over 300 Red Army veterans of the Hefei area were seated in the honorary seats. Commanders and fighters of the provincial military district and troops stationed in Hefei, cadres of departments directly under the provincial authorities and Hefei City, and representatives of youths, totalling more than 1,400 people, attended the meeting.

Li Guixian, secretary of the Anhui Provincial Party Committee, spoke at the meeting. He said: [Begin recording] Today is the 50th anniversary of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army's Long March victory. Representatives of the party, government, military, and various circles of Anhui Province society are here to mark this day of great historical significance. On behalf of the provincial party committee and government, I extend my heartfelt respects and cordial regards to the veteran Red Army men, guerrillas of Anhui Province, to all the people from the old revolutionary areas who made great contributions to our revolution, and to the veteran Red Army fighters present at this meeting. [end recording]

In his speech, Li Guixian reviewed the Red Army's Long March history and emphasized the historical significance of the Long March. He said: The purpose of marking the 50th anniversary of the Long March is to carry on the fine traditions of our party and the Red Army. We should strive to build socialism with Chinese characteristics and with the Long March spirit. We should learn from the Red Army the lesson of firm conviction and loyalty to our revolutionary cause, and, with common cause, we should mobilize and unite the people of Anhui Province to work hand in hand for the fulfillment of the general tasks of the new period. We should learn

the Red Army's heroic spirit in defying difficulties, its unyielding will, and its courage to struggle and fight for victory. We should continue to emancipate our minds, firm up our will to carry out reforms, take bold steps to tackle new problems, bring forth new ideas, and to firmly carry out reforms. We should learn the Red Army's lofty spirit of serving the people wholeheartedly and of working selflessly for the public interest. We should emulate its intestinal fortitude and its way of showing concern for and closely integrating itself with the masses; and we should work hard to fundamentally improve party style and the social atmosphere.

Party committees, governments, and leading cadres at all levels should, with a strong sense of responsibility and urgency, do whatever they can to help the people living in old revolutionary areas to develop commodity production and to become better off sooner. In conclusion, Comrade Li Guixian said: [Begin recording] Comrades, the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee which closed recently unanimously adopted the "Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the Guiding Principles for Building a Socialist Spiritual Civilization." We should earnestly study the resolution and thoroughly understand its spirit and its essence. We should take concrete steps to implement the resolution by taking into consideration the actual situation of individual localities and departments. We should always bear in mind the overall design of our socialist modernization program, insist on simultaneously building material and spiritual civilizations, and work hard to improve our practical work. We should continue the Red Army's Long March and revolutionary spirit; and study and work hard, struggle in unity, and forge a new path for the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation and for the development of the Anhui Province. [end recording]

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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

JIANGSU PARTY COMMITTEE HEARS HAN PEIXIN REPORT

OW240128 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 21 Oct 86

[Excerpt] The Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh Jiangsu Provincial Party Committee was held in Nanjing this afternoon. Prior to this meeting, an enlarged plenary session of the Seventh Provincial Party Committee was held from 16 October till this morning.

The goal of the meeting was to relay, study, and implement the guidelines of the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee. The meeting heard Comrade Han Peixin's report relaying the guidelines of the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, and conscientiously studied and discussed the Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Guiding Principles for Developing Socialist Spiritual Civilization.

It was the unanimous view of the meeting that the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee was a meeting of tremendous significance in our party's history, and that the resolution of the party Central Committee is a programmatic document for strengthening the development of socialist spiritual civilization in the new period. The participants expressed unanimous support for the resolutions of the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, and were determined to implement the resolutions in light of Jiangsu's realities.

Having studied the resolutions of the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, the meeting deliberated the Jiangsu Provincial Party Committee's Opinions on Implementing the Resolution of the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee on the Guiding Principles for Developing Socialist Spiritual Civilization. The plenary session gave consent to the opinions in principle, and instructed the provincial party committee's Standing Committee to make further revisions based on the suggestions offered at the meeting, and to circulate it as a document of the provincial party committee for implementation. The meeting also exchanged experiences in developing socialist spiritual civilization.

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JIANGXI MEETING DISCUSSES EX-GOVERNOR'S CRIMES

0W241333 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 22 Oct 86

[Excerpts] The fifth meeting of the Sixth Jiangxi Provincial People's Congress opened at the 1 August auditorium in Nanchang this afternoon. A total of 944 deputies were due to attend the meeting. Only 770 deputies actually attended the meeting; 84 deputies were absent due to illness or because of other reasons. However, the number of deputies attending the meeting constituted a quorum.

Attending the meeting were Standing Committee chairmen of the meeting presidium Xu Qin, Wang Shufeng, Wang Zemin, Zheng Xiaoxian, Liang Kaixuan, Huang Xiandu, Peng Shengxi, and Liu Bin.

Seated on the rostrum were members of the meeting presidium and leading comrades of the provincial party committee, the provincial advisory committee, the provincial discipline inspection commission, the provincial military district, the Nanchang Military Academy, the provincial higher people's court, the provincial people's procuratorate, and the provincial CPC committee who had been invited to attend the meeting. Among the leading comrades were Wu Guanzheng, Liu Fangren, Wang Zhaorong, (Lu Xiuzhen), (Wang Taihua), (Zhao Zhiping), Zhao Zengyi, (Bi Sheng), Zhu Zhihong, (Li Yelin), (Wang Linde), (Li Yin), Wang Shuheng, (Wu Ping), Yang Yongfeng, (Shen Hanxing), (Lu Liang), (Lu Shanyu), and Wu Tiyu.

Two items were on today's meeting's agenda:

1. A report by Zhu Zhihong, secretary of the provincial discipline inspection commission, on serious mistakes committed by Comrade Ni Xiance.
2. Discussion and voting on measures concerning personnel appointments and dismissals.

In his report, Zhu Zhihong said: During his tenure, Ni Xiance violated laws and party discipline by leading a decadent life, exerting a bad moral influence, forsaking principle, abusing his authority and power, practicing favoritism, shielding smugglers, and betraying state secrets. He exerted an extremely bad influence among the masses.

Present at today's meeting as observers were responsible comrades of various departments under the provincial party committee and the standing committee of the provincial people's congress as well as leading comrades of various departments under the provincial people's government.

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EAST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

JIANGXI ELECTS WU GUANZHENG AS NEW GOVERNOR

OW251450 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Oct 86

[Text] The Fifth Session of the Sixth Jiangxi Provincial People's Congress held a third plenary meeting this afternoon to elect Comrade Wu Guanzheng governor of Jiangxi Province.

Zheng Xiaoxian, executive chairman of the Presidium, presided over the meeting. Other executive chairmen who attended today's meeting were: Wan Shaofen, Wang Shufeng, Peng Shengxi, Liu Bin, (Wu Changgeng), (Wang Chengzhu), (Zhou Shurong), (Cao Gengtian), Li Yanling, and (Tao Xifu). Also attending the meeting were permanent chairmen of the Presidium, including Xu Qin, (Wang Deming), Liang Kaixuan, and (Huang Tiandu).

Other Presidium members seated on the rostrum and leading comrades attending the meeting on invitation included: Wu Guanzheng, Liu Fangren, Jiang Zhuping, Wang Zhaorong, (Lu Xiuzhen), (Wang Taihua), Zhao Zhijian, Zhao Zengyi, (Wang Mingde), (Li Ying), Wang Shuheng, Wu Ping, Yang Yongfeng, Lu Liang, Li Shanyuan, and Wu Tiyu. Veteran comrades seated on the rostrum were (Zhang Yuping) and Li Fangyuan.

The number of deputies due to attend the meeting was 944, and those who actually attended today's meeting totalled 767, which constituted a quorum. There were four items on the meeting's agenda:

1. Approving the appointment of a general ballot examiner and the draft namelist of ballot examiners;
2. Electing the governor of Jiangxi Province;
3. Speech by the new governor; and
4. Speech by Wan Shaofen, secretary of the provincial party committee.

The meeting first approved by acclamation the appointment of a general ballot examiner and the namelist of ballot examiners. It then elected the governor by secret ballot. The number of votes issued and returned at the meeting were 767 each, which meant the election was valid. According to the election results announced by Zheng Xiaoxian, executive chairman of the meeting, Comrade Wu Guanzheng was elected governor of Jiangxi Province. Wu Guanzheng and Wan Shaofen spoke at the meeting.

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NEW JIANGXI GOVERNOR ADDRESSES CONGRESS MEETING

OW251625 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Oct 86

[*"Excerpts" of Governor Wu Guanzheng's Speech at the Third Plenary Meeting of the Fifth Session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress on the afternoon of 24 October*]

[Text] Comrade Wu Guanzheng said: First of all, please allow me to extend my heartfelt thanks to all the deputies for their trust in me. It is my wish to work for the people of my hometown who raised me. Although I am an old pal [of yours], I left my hometown at an early age and returned in old age. My understanding of Jiangxi's situation is very poor. After reading the reports of some departments and visiting some units in the past 2 weeks since I returned, I strongly feel that Jiangxi has great potential, is capable of great accomplishments, and is very promising.

He stated: Being assigned to the important post of governor is a measure of the party's confidence and the people's trust. I will strive to overcome difficulties with everybody. In carrying out my future tasks, I will definitely work hard at studying Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong's Thought, at acquiring management expertise, at collecting the good experiences and emulating the fine workstyle of Jiangxi cadres, and at following the sound moral character of Jiangxi people. I will also step up efforts to improve myself and constantly upgrade my ideological consciousness and understanding of policies. I will keep politically in line with the central authorities by upholding the simultaneous building of the two civilizations, making persistent efforts to conduct reforms, and directing my energies toward economic construction. In organizational work, I will take all parts of Jiangxi into account, treat people sincerely, and say more words and do more works that are conducive to unity. In terms of workstyle, it is necessary to take a democratic approach, follow the mass line, encourage the free airing of views, perform tasks in accordance with the law, respect knowledge and talent, and strengthen efforts to make policymaking scientific and democratic. As regards the party style, it is necessary to perform official duties honestly, handle matters impartially, and refrain from seeking personal privileges and gains. I would like to take this opportunity to express my hope that governments at all levels and departments in various sectors will improve

their work efficiency, foster the concept of wholeheartedly serving the people, solve problems for the grassroots and the people, and do some more practical work instead of shirking responsibility.

Wu Guanzheng noted: It is my firm belief that as long as we have the leadership of the central and provincial party committees, the supervision and the support of the advisory commission, the people's congress, and the CPPCC committee, and the joint efforts of all Jiangxi cadres and people, we can certainly enhance the revolutionary tradition, achieve greater glory, and invigorate Jiangxi on this land which is full of the advanced deeds of revolutionary martyrs.

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EAST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

SHANGHAI FORUM URGES '8 MODERNIZATIONS\*

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 10 Sep 86 p 5

[Article: "Shanghai's Forum on Political Reform Points out That Four Modernizations Are Not Enough; China Must Have Eight Modernizations"]

[Text] The Intelligence Research Institute of the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences and "SHEHUI BAO" not long ago held a forum on the theories of political structural reform which proposed the eight modernizations--namely, industrial, agricultural, national defense, and scientific and technological modernizations plus ideological, political, cultural, and life-style modernizations.

At the forum, participants held that the breakthrough of political structural reform is the genuine implementation of the "double-hundred" principle. Political issues should be discussed openly. The reform needs theoretical preparation whereas theoretical exploration needs the atmosphere of political democracy. With regard to theories concerning the reform of political structure, we need courageous people of lofty ideals to break through the forbidden zone.

The participants pointed out that the disregard of law is a major obstacle to the reform and modernization. An urgent task for the reform of political structure is to ensure that "laws are observed" and the first step is to ensure that all democratic rights of the people stipulated in the Constitution are secure.

They said: Another major obstacle to the reform and modernization is the remnants of feudal autocracy whose prominent expression is privilege. Only by removing these obstacles can the people really become their own master and can there be hope for reform and modernization.

The participants at the forum emphasized that it is not enough to advocate "four modernizations" alone in the modernization drive. They said China wants all-around modernization; therefore, in addition to industrial, agricultural, national defense, and scientific and technological modernizations, we also need ideological, political, cultural, and life-style modernizations. Without modernization in these fields, the other modernizations are out of the question.

The participants also aired views on such issues as the theoretical development of Marxism and improvement in political science courses.

Attending the forum were over 20 people including Su Shaozhi [5685 4801 2535], director of the Marxism-Leninism Research Institute under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences; Shu Wen [5289 2429], vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the Shanghai Municipal People's Congress; Cao Manzhi [2580 3355 0037], director of the Shanghai Municipal Society of Sociology (chief editor of "SHEHUI BAO"); and Zheng Kaiqi [6774 7030 3825], deputy director of the Intelligence Research Institute under the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences.

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RUI XINGWEN ATTENDS SHANGHAI CPC COMMITTEE PLENUM

OW251041 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 24 Oct 86

[Excerpts] The Second Plenary Session of the Fifth Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee was held at the Shanghai Exhibition Center yesterday afternoon. The session called on all party organizations, party members, and people throughout the city, under the leadership of the party central committee, to uphold the four fundamental principles, to persist in all-round reform and in opening to the outside world as well as to other parts of China, energetically participate in building a material and a spiritual civilization, make even greater contributions to revitalizing the Chinese nation and developing Shanghai, and welcome the 13th national party congress with outstanding achievements.

Rui Xingwen, secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, presided over and spoke at the session. Other leaders seated at the rostrum included Jiang Zemin, Yang Di, Huang Ju, Wu Bangguo, and Zeng Qinghong, deputy secretaries of the municipal party committee; Chen Tiedi, Zhang Dinghong, Ping Changxi, Mao Jingguan, Shi Zhusan, Zhao Qizheng, and (Huang Liping), members of the Standing Committee of the municipal party committee.

Comrade Rui Xingwen first asked all to rise to pay a silent tribute to the death of Marshal Ye Jianying.

The session adopted in principle the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee's plan for building a socialist spiritual civilization during the seventh 5-year plan period. The session held that the municipal party committee's plan was formulated in accordance with the resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the guiding principles for building a socialist spiritual civilization and meets the needs of the strategic plan for developing Shanghai's economy, which the party Central Committee and the State Council have approved and endorse in principle.

The session approved the promotion of Comrade (Wang Chonglin) as member of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee. The session decided to hold Shanghai's party congress in the middle of next year. Prior to the

plenary session, a 3-1/2 day preparatory meeting was held beginning on 20 October. During the preparatory meeting, the participants heard a report on the current economic situation and the main tasks for this winter and next spring delivered by Comrade Jiang Zemin.

Attending the plenary session were 58 members of the municipal party committee and 12 alternate members of the committee. Attending the session as observers were members of the municipal advisory commission.

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EAST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMEMORATION CEREMONIES HELD AT SUN YAT-SEN MEMORIAL

Hao Jianxiu Attends

OW140432 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 12 Nov 86

[Excerpts] People from all walks of life in Shanghai gathered in the [place name indistinct] on the morning of 11 November at a grandiose meeting to commemorate the 120th birth anniversary of Mr Sun Yat-sen, a great forerunner of revolution. Some 1,600 people attended the meeting. They included Hao Jianxiu, member of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee; Liu Jingji, vice chairman of the CPPCC National Committee; responsible persons of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee, People's Congress Standing Committee, People's Government and CPPCC Committee; some members and alternate members of the CPC Central Committee, and some members of the Central Advisory Commission and the Central Discipline Inspection Commission residing in Shanghai; responsible persons of PLA units in Shanghai; responsible persons of Shanghai municipal committees of various democratic parties and Shanghai's mass organizations; and personalities from other circles.

Jiang Zemin, deputy secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee and Mayor of Shanghai, addressed the commemoration meeting.

Jiang Zemin said: Mr Sun Yat-sen repeatedly emphasized that China is always an indivisible whole. The reunification of China is the common aspiration of the people throughout our country. The unfortunate split between Taiwan and the motherland's mainland at present completely runs counter to Sun Yat-sen's unfulfilled wish, and also violates the fundamental interests of the people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait.

Jiang Zemin said that the people in Shanghai sincerely hope to increase exchanges with compatriots of all circles in Taiwan. He reiterated that Taiwan compatriots are welcome to come to visit relatives or friends, sightsee or settle in Shanghai. He also expressed his welcome for Taiwan's industrialists and businessmen to conduct economic activities in Shanghai, and for personalities from Taiwan's educational, scientific, cultural and sports circles to visit Shanghai on exchange programs. He suggested that the shipping departments of Taiwan and Shanghai should rapidly restore passenger and cargo shipping service between Shanghai and Jilong [Keelung] ports.

Other speakers at the meeting included (Xu Yifang), vice chairman of the Shanghai municipal Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee; Tan Jiazhen, chairman of the Shanghai municipal committee of the China Democratic League; and Dong Yinchu, chairman of the Shanghai municipal committee of the China Zhi Gong Dang.

#### Jiangsu Governor Visits

OW121155 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 7 Nov 86

[Text] Members of a delegation of people of all circles in Hong Kong and Macao paid homage to Dr Sun Yat-sen at the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum yesterday. Attending the ceremonies were leader of the delegation Fok Ying Tung and deputy delegation leaders (Ma Meng), (Zhang Shiping), and (Liang Xiyun).

The ceremonies began at 0900. On behalf of the delegation of people of all circles in Hong Kong and Macao, Mr Fok Ying Tung and Xu Jiatur, who is head of XINHUA's Hong Kong branch, placed a basket of flowers at the mausoleum. To express their high respect for Dr Sun Yat-sen, all participants stood in silent tribute and made three bows in front of his seated statue.

The delegation was accompanied to the mausoleum by provincial and Nanjing leaders, including Shen Daren, Gu Xiulian, Chu Jiang, (Qian Zhonghan), Zhang Xuwu, (Xu Zhi), Zhang Yaohua, (Zhang Xuhuan); responsible persons of the Provincial and Nanjing Democratic Parties, including (Tang Hongzhi), (Chen Minzhi), (Chen Suiheng), (Shan Shumo), (Deng Haoming), (Wu Zhen), (Cheng Bingwen), and (Deng Jiangzhong); responsible persons of the provincial federation of Taiwan compatriots, the provincial federation of returned overseas Chinese, and the Nanjing Association of Whampoa Academy Alumni; as well as people from other circles.

The delegation also visited the (Changding) building to view works of Dr Sun Yat-sen and other historical objects on display there. The guests also heard recorded talks housed at the former residence of Soong Ching Ling. In the afternoon the delegation paid homage at the tombs of Liao Zhongkai and He Xiangning, toured the area, and visited the Zijinshan Observatory.

#### Zhejiang Governor Speaks

OW140623 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 12 Nov 86

[Excerpts] Zhejiang Province and Hangzhou City held a solemn meeting at the provincial science hall this morning to commemorate the 120th birth anniversary of Dr Sun Yat-sen. Wang Jiayang, chairman of the CPPCC Provincial Committee, presided over the meeting.

Provincial and city party, government, and Army leaders Li Dexin, Tie Ying, Cui Jian, Zhai Xiwu, Wang Qidong, Shi Lei, Tang Yuanbing, Wu Youxin, Zhu Zhiguang, Qiu Qinghua, Zhan Shaowen, Feng Xiaoshan, Zhong Boxi, Chen Xia, and Zhou Fang attended the meeting together with officials of all democratic parties and people's organizations, as well as people from various circles, totaling some 1,000.

Governor Xue Ju made an important speech at the meeting. He said: Dr Sun Yat-sen's unyielding spirit and devotion to the country's prosperity commands deep reverence among the people at all times. While commemorating his 120th birth anniversary, we can proudly report to Dr Sun Yat-sen that our country has achieved independence and progress and that the modernization drive has advanced smoothly. Unfortunately, Taiwan remains separated from the mainland of the motherland. We hope that the Taiwan authorities will proceed from the interests of the country and the people in seriously considering the proposal for one country with two systems for solving the reunification problem and fulfilling the common long-cherished dream of the people on both sides of the strait. This should be the best way to commemorate Dr Sun Yat-sen.

He Zhibin, chairman of the Zhejiang Provincial Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee, spoke on behalf of all provincial-level democratic parties and the provincial federation of industry and commerce.

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CSO: 4005/190

EAST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

LU MAOZENG ADDRESSES DEMOCRATIC PARTIES--Lu Maozeng [7120 2021 2582], deputy secretary of the Shandong Provincial CPC Committee, spoke to over 80 responsible persons of provincial-level democratic parties, industrial and commercial federations, and concerned mass organizations at the club of the Nanjiao Guest House in the afternoon of 5 September. He said: Developing democracy and perfecting the legal system is an important element of the reform of the political structure. Vigorous participation in political consultation and the exercise of the function of democratic supervision by various democratic parties is an important way to develop democracy and perfect the legal system. It is also a privilege of democratic parties and non-party friends. With regard to democratic parties, our party set forth the principles of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" and "being open and sharing honor and disgrace with each other" which are not just pretty slogans. They are the basic requirements of socialist democracy. As the ruling party, our party indeed needs supervision from not only within the party but more importantly outside the party. The comrades of democratic parties should contribute to the reform of political structure, vigorously participate in the discussions of major state policies and principles, and supervise our party and government cadres at all levels. At the same time, I also wish that all democratic parties and non-party personages be bold in making more criticisms and suggestions on our party and government to help us improve work and correct work style. [Excerpts] [Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 6 Sep 86 p 1] 12302

JIANGXI GOVERNOR DISMISSED--The Xinhua News Agency of China reported: Ni Xiance [0242 3759 4595], governor of Jiangxi province, has been relieved of his duties for the violation of law and disciplines and other serious mistakes. The Standing Committee of the Sixth Jiangxi Provincial People's Congress held its 19th plenum on the morning of 27 September. One of the major items on the agenda was to "discuss the issue of serious mistakes committed by Governor Ni Xiance." During the 4-day session, Wang Shufeng [3769 2579 2800], chairman of the standing committee of the provincial people's congress will announce the 25 September decision of the State Council on relieving Ni Xiance of his duties; Zhu Zhihong [2612 3112 1347], secretary of the discipline inspection commission of the Jiangxi Provincial CPC Committee, will report on the situation of serious mistakes committed by Ni Xiance; and the standing committee of the provincial people's congress will hold panel discussions to deliberate on the candidates for the acting governor and adopt a resolution on acting governor. According to the authorities, Wu Guanzheng [0702 1351 2973], 48-year old current mayor of Wuhan City, is among the candidates for the acting governor. Wu Guanzheng is a native of Yugan County of Jiangxi Province and a graduate of the Qinghua University. [Text] [Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 27 Sep 86 p 5] 12302

SECRET DOCUMENTS REPORTED SOLD FOR PROFIT--Several government components in Nanjing have had the effrontery to raise money by "selling" classified documents to waste recycling stores. The units involved sold such documents as "Neibu Cankao" [Internal Reference], "Guoji Nei Can" [International Affairs for Internal Reference], "Junshi Qingbao" [Military Intelligence], "Zheng Dang Jianbao" [Briefs on Party Rectification], and even classified documents issued by public security organs for the purposes of investigation. An investigation recently conducted by security cadres of the Nanjing municipal CPC Committee determined that 28 government units sold classified documents that should have been destroyed internally to waste recycling stores, which then resold them to peddlers and paper mills. The 28 units sold 1,398 classified documents and 1,104 documents labelled secret. (Extracted from Nanjing ZHOU MO [WEEKEND].) [Text] [Shenyang SHENYANG RIBAO in Chinese 13 Oct 86 p 4]

JIANGXI GOVERNOR REMOVED FROM OFFICE--Nanchang, 24 Oct (XINHUA)--The Fifth Session of the Sixth Jiangxi Provincial People's Congress decided on 23 October to remove Governor Ni Xiance from office. This session began on 22 October. The delegates held that Ni Xiance, having committed serious mistakes during his term of office, was unsuitable for the post of governor. In accordance with the stipulations prescribed in Article 191 of the "Constitution of the PRC" and Article 9 of the "Organic Laws for Local People's Congresses and Governments at Various Levels of the PRC," the session decided to remove him from the post of governor. Before Ni Xiance was removed from the post of governor, the CPC Central Committee had dismissed him from the posts of deputy secretary, standing committee member, and member of the Jiangxi Provincial CPC Committee. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA Hong Kong Service in Chinese 1552 GMT 24 Oct 86] /9604

SUN YAT-SEN MEMORIAL--Today is the 120th birth anniversary of Mr Sun Yat-sen, a great forerunner of the revolution. More than 1,000 personages from various circles in Fujian Province gathered at a grandiose meeting to mark the occasion. The participants included leading Comrades Chen Guangyi, Hu Ping, Hu Hong, Cheng Xu, Yuan Gai, Zhang Yumin, Yuan Qitong, He Shaochuan, Zhang Zongde, Lu Sheng, Zhu Shaoqing, Huang Yaguang, Fu Baicui, Zhang Zhaohan, Wen Xiushan, Wang Yan, Guo Ruiren, Wang Zhi, Zeng Ming, Liu Yongye, Cai Liangcheng, You Dexin, Chen Xizhong, Ni Songmao, Zuo Fengmei, Chen Yangzeng, and Xu Jimei. Yuan Gai, chairman of the Fujian Provincial CPPCC Committee, presided over the meeting. Cheng Xu, chairman of the Fujian Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, spoke at the meeting. [Excerpts] [Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 12 Nov 86 OW] /12913

CSO: 4005/190

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

INSTRUCTIONS ON COMMEMORATION SITES, ACTIVITIES

HK250209 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 23 Nov 86

[Text] On 16 November, the Hunan Provincial CPC Committee issued instructions on strengthening work regarding revolution commemoration sites and strictly controlling all commemoration activities.

The instructions say: The building of revolution commemoration facilities, including memorial halls, memorial monuments, old residence sites, and statues, must be carried out in a planned and systematic way in accordance with the instructions of the central authorities and with local financial resources. The procedures for submitting a report for approval must be complied with. All commemoration facilities must be solemn and simple. While they are built, attention must be paid to economizing on financial and material resources.

The instructions also say: From now on, except for the special level of the central authorities, memorial halls for an individual will not generally be built. To display and publicize the brilliant outstanding achievements of the revolutionary martyrs, we shall lay stress on building a Hunan provincial museum of revolution.

The instructions also demand: We must strictly control all commemoration activities. Regarding activities to commemorate important historical figures, we will only carry out such activities to mark every 100th anniversary of their birth or death. All commemoration activities must be simple and stress will be laid on practical results.

The instructions point out: It is necessary to reiterate the central authorities' instructions on prohibiting naming sites with a leader's name. The size of the commemoration sites of revolution must not be enlarged or rebuilt at will. No units or individuals are allowed to occupy the places and premises of the commemoration sites.

/12913  
CSO: 4005/198

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST TEACHERS REPORTED

[Editorial Report] A commentary in Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 23 October 1986, page 2, reports that despite wage and bonus regulations issued by the Guangdong provincial government forbidding discriminatory treatment, 4 counties in Zhaoqing Prefecture and 12 counties in Huiyang Prefecture are still failing to award bonus pay to teachers. Responsible cadres have made excuses by saying that their respective governments have been short of revenue, when in fact they have granted bonus pay to cadres.

A similar commentary in Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 20 October 1986, page 1, reports that nationally renowned Southern Normal University has recently suffered a decline in enrollments because of parental reluctance for their children to go into teaching. According to the commentator, Gao Shan [7559 1472], there have been sporadic beatings of middle and grammar school teachers, the teacher's workload is comparatively heavy, teachers have to wait longer to receive housing accommodations, and in certain areas, teachers receive only 70 percent of the wages to which they are entitled. Gao Shan asked a teacher with more than 20 years of experience what course of study middle school graduates should pursue. His blunt reply was "Any career but teaching."

CSO: 4005/196

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

UNITED FRONT WORK--This afternoon, Guo Rongchang, deputy secretary of the Provincial Party Committee spoke at the Provincial Party Committee hall to 1,600 members of various democratic parties at provincial and city levels, as well as cadres of organs directly under the provincial authorities; and delivered a report on united front work during the new historical period. He urged all parties as a whole to make concerted efforts in and strive for creating a new situation. Guo Rongchang said: Being adjacent to Hong Kong and Macau, and next to Taiwan, as well as being a famous hometown of Overseas Chinese, the province has eight democratic parties and various united front work organizations. It is also the first province that implemented the policy of opening up. Therefore, the united front work is very important. On ways of doing well in the province's united front work, Guo Rongchang said: Basing ourselves in Mainland China, we must focus our work on Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macau, and overseas; and promote our work overseas. The united front work in Mainland China is mainly to implement well the policies on united front work, and do well in making personnel arrangements for non-party personages. The key role of united front work in Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan and overseas is to improve the understanding and establish connections with overseas Chinese in a bold way. We should unify those who support the reunification of the motherland. [Text] [Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 21 Nov 86 HK] /12913

WORK FORUM ON INTELLECTUALS--Today, Guangzhou concluded the provincial work forum on intellectuals. The forum urged departments concerned in all localities to seriously investigate their situation of implementing the policies toward intellectuals, so as to strive to completely solve before the convention of the 13th CPC Congress problems left over from history. Also, we should hold accountable in political terms the leadership who attaches no importance to the work. The forum proposed that the focus of the province's next step of the implementation of policies concerning intellectuals is mainly to examine the situation of solving problems left over from history, which were handled in an erroneous way under the guidance of the leftist thinking, ever since the founding of the state, including the periods before and during the Great Cultural Revolution. [Text] [Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 21 Nov 86 HK] /12913

CSO: 4005/198

SOUTHWEST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

#### SOCIOLOGISTS DISCUSS POLITICAL STRUCTURAL REFORM

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Aug 86 p 1

[Article by reporter Li Jiajie [2621 1367 2638]: "A Group of Sociologists in Sichuan Meet To Discuss the Theoretical Issues of Political Structural Reform"]

[Text] A group of sociologists in Sichuan Province recently met in Chengdu to discuss theoretical issues concerning the reform of political structure.

The topics of the forum included the importance and necessity of the reform of the political structure, the arduousness and complexity of political structural reform, the relationship between political and economic structural reforms, the formation and appraisal of the current political structure, and the contents, direction, breakthroughs, and goals of political structural reform.

The Sichuan Provincial CPC Committee gave vigorous support to the discussion of sociologists. Xu Chuan [6079 1557], standing committee member of the provincial CPC committee, and director of the propaganda department, spoke at the forum. He said: "It is all right even if some views are not necessarily complete and proper during the studies. You can solve the problem by continuing to study, exchanging views, inspiring each other, and carrying out democratic discussions."

Comrades participating at the forum pointed out: To meet the needs of the in-depth development of the all-around reform, it is very necessary to further reform the structure of political management. Political structural reform may start with organizational reform and the reform of the cadre system. An all-around scientific division of powers and duties should be conducted in all party and government organs, people's congress organs, mass organizations, enterprises, and establishments to solve the problem of the overcentralization of powers. At the same time, the life-long tenure system of cadres and leaders should be abolished so that cadres at all levels can become the real servants of the people.

They think because the present political structure is influenced by ingrained tradition and culture and its reform will involve many fields and make a great impact, the reform must give full consideration to China's basic national

conditions, set a direction and goal in light of the reality, secure a harmonious environment, and coordinate with the reform of the economic structure. Since political structural reform is not a change of socialist system, but the self-improvement in the socialist system and its development toward a higher form, the reform must be conducive to improving and strengthening party leadership. At present, the main task is to do a good job in investigation, research, and theoretical discussion to pinpoint the problems. We should not stir up rumors or solve problems by instigating public opinions.

12302  
CSO: 4005/50

NORTH REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

COUNTY PARTY RECTIFICATION RESULTS REPORTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Oct 86 p 4

[Article by reporter Wang Aisheng [3769 5337 3932]: "Leading Comrades Play an Exemplary Role by Being Strict With Themselves; Qi County Uses Party Work Style To Bring About Better Social Practices"]

[Text] The leading members of the Qi County CPC Committee of Shanxi Province have scored great achievements by setting an example and leading party members and cadres in correcting party work style. The party work style of 296 grassroots party branches, accounting for 70 percent of total party branches in the county, has taken a turn for the better.

Qi County, located in the Jinzhong Basin, is one of the commodity grain bases of Shanxi Province. In the past few years, none of the leading members of the county CPC committee, the county government, the county discipline inspection commission, the county people's congress, and the county CPPCC has taken advantage of their positions and powers to violate rules and build private housing; none of them has violated financial and economic disciplines to borrow or spend public funds or be in arrears in public funds obligation; none of them has given unauthorized approvals or made indiscriminate "exceptions" in the enrollment of students, the employment of workers, the transfer of cadres, and the transformation of "agricultural to non-agricultural industries;" and none of them has engaged in trade and enterprise management. Leading cadres at the county level are responsible respectively for the party work style of party organizations in 7 departments and 12 townships (and towns). Members of leading bodies are responsible respectively for the units and departments assigned to them. Leading cadres at all levels should make sure that their families and offsprings do not violate laws or discipline. The task of correcting the party work style has been assigned to each and every leading member. In light of actual conditions, all departments have started from weak links, made breakthroughs in key links, and promoted the work as a whole. For instance, public security and food departments have concentrated on issues concerning the "transformation of agricultural to non-agricultural industries," organizational, personnel, and labor departments have concentrated on issues concerning "the transfer of cadres in industrial departments," promotion, and employment, trying to watch out for symptoms of problems and stop them before they occur. Since the beginning of 1986, party members and cadres of the county tax bureau have turned down 23 dinner

invitations and gifts. They have volunteered to check and carefully investigate free foods and gifts given to them and paid for them according to their prices.

The Qi County CPC Committee has vigorously supported the work of the county discipline inspection commission and given full play to the function of discipline inspection departments. It has selected 458 cadres who have a strong party spirit, correct work style, and great ability to replenish discipline inspection departments at county, township, and village levels and invited 21 retired senior cadres to work as party work style and discipline liaison supervisors. Members of the county discipline inspection commission are allowed to take part in and supervise all major policy decisions and actions of the county CPC committee.

The Qi County CPC Committee has attached great importance to the education of party members in party spirit, work style, and disciplines and the improvement of party members' political quality. In addition to party schools run by the county, 12 townships (and towns) in the county, the county economic commission, and the county financial commission have all sponsored party schools. A total of 122 villages have built party member activity rooms. There are 360 full-time and part-time party education teachers and instructors in this county. According to a recent statistic, 180 party members have received education in party work style and disciplines. The political awareness of party members has markedly increased. According to a survey, 92.2 percent of the county's 7,100 party members are qualified or basically qualified. A total of 781 party members have been commended by the province, the prefecture or the county. The improvement of party work style has promoted the improvement of social practices. Comparing 1985 with 1984, the occurrence rate of criminal cases in the county declined 2.1 percent and public security cases declined 51.2 percent.

The improvement of party work style has promoted the economic development of Qi County, bringing about a prosperous phenomenon. In 1985, the gross value of the county's industrial and agricultural output surpassed 170 million yuan, doubling that of 1980. The per-capita income of rural areas was over 400 yuan.

12302  
CSO: 4005/72

NORTHEAST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

JILIN PREPARES TO ELECT DEPUTIES TO PEOPLE'S CONGRESSES

SK250812 Changchun JILIN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Nov 86 p 1

[Text] Our province has carried out in an all-round way the work of electing deputies to the 11th People's Congresses at county and township levels. Cities, prefectures, autonomous prefecture, and counties (cities, districts) have successively established their electoral committees (leading groups) and made various preparations for the election by successfully assigning cadres to take charge of the work and formulating electoral plans.

Some local party committees and electoral committees have put forward concrete demands for successfully conducting the electoral work for the change of terms. Some have pointed out that after conducting reforms in the rural economic system, a profound change in both political and economic situations among the rural areas has taken shape and many households and specialized households engaging in agricultural, industrial and sideline production, and urban units engaging in the tertiary industry, have emerged.

In line with the need of the situation, these upcoming deputies to the People's Congresses will not only symbolize an extensive representation, but also should have certain ability in conducting political consultations and activities. Some local party committees and electoral committees have also urged organizational departments at all levels to conduct examination work among the candidates for congress leading bodies in line with their right of personnel affairs, to solicit in an extensive way opinions offered by various circles and particularly by the deputies and veteran cadres, and to take into consideration the stability of these congress leading bodies in order to prevent an abrupt change just after the election and to safeguard the sanctity of law. Some of them have urged the departments concerned to conduct electoral work strictly according to legal procedures so as to ensure success in conducting the election. At present, some townships and towns that have taken up this pilot work and have completed the registration of voters and consulted the candidates for new deputies.

The party committees at all levels have attached great importance to the electoral work, and their responsible comrades have also taken personal charge of the work. They have also issued a specialized document to urge their subordinate units to regard the electoral work as their working emphasis in a certain upcoming period and to assign a secretary to assume responsibility for enhancing the leadership over electoral work and doing a good job in earnestly conducting the electoral work.

NORTHEAST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

HARBIN RATED WORST IN RENDERING SERVICES TO FOREIGN VISITORS

[Editorial Report] A commentary in HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese on 8 October 1986, page 2, acknowledges that of 180 Chinese cities surveyed, Harbin ranks last in rendering services to foreign visitors. The survey, conducted by China Travel Service, polled more than 5,000 foreign visitors. The commentary states that the poor rating is the result of several recent incidents, including the beating of a foreign visitor by an employee of a local state-owned enterprise and a hotel's assigning of a man and a woman who did not know one another to the same room.

CSO: 4005/183

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

CURRENT STATUS OF PLA WAGES, BENEFITS

Taipei CHUNGKUNG YENCHIU [STUDIES ON CHINESE COMMUNISM] in Chinese Vol 20, No 9, 15 Sep 86 pp 82-91

[Article by Cheng Fang-kuang [6774 2455 3171]: "Current Status of Chinese Communist Army's Wage Adjustments and Welfare Benefit Grades"]

[Text] I. Foreword

The quality of the armed forces is equal to its combat effectiveness. If the quality is superior then the combat effectiveness is high, and if not then it is low, a situation that is one of the key probability factors in victory or defeat in war. And the proportion of superior and inferior components in the quality of the armed forces determines the efficiency of building the armed forces at the basic level, particularly that of basic-level logistics. If basic-level logistics were not set up, then the building at the basic level of combat-preparedness training, politics and ideology, culture and education would certainly be difficult to carry out effectively.

After the Chinese communists suffered a defeat in their war against Vietnam in 1979, they came up with the direction and decision for the line of "building modernized armed forces," adopting the strategic idea of "integrating peace and war" and carrying out a series of reform measures. On the one hand they have put into effect "streamlining and reorganization" in which the armed forces structure is readjusted and the leading cadres are withdrawn for new blood. On the other hand, they have not stinted at borrowing huge loans from foreign countries, and have even slashed funds for the armed forces' basic level, in order to invest in the development of national defense science and technology and to discard old weapons and equipment and replace them with new weapons and equipment. Thus, they have neglected the most important link--the building of the armed forces' basic level--causing all kinds of problems to break out at the communist army's basic level, so that the basic level is out of step with the "building of modernized armed forces" and is unable to effect the relevant coordination. This article will only make an analysis of the summed-up relevant data on the situation in the treatment and mess aspects in life at the basic level of the communist army, in order to provide a reference for exploring the quality of life in the communist army's units so that its combat effectiveness may be judged.

## II. The Communist Army's Wage Adjustments

### A. Wages of Cadres

In the 10 years after 1955 the communist army had a system of military ranks, and it issued military pay in accordance with the level of the military rank's class. Later, because Mao Zedong referred to the system as a "bourgeois military line," it was abolished. As of now, the wages of the communist army's cadres are issued in accordance with their post rank. In accordance with a decision once made by the CPC Central Committee that "the wages of armed forces cadres are to be 20 percent higher than those of cadres in the localities," according to what has been revealed by the Chinese communists, the average monthly wage of the ordinary cadre in the communist army is 11 yuan (Renminbi, the same below) more than that of a cadre in the locality. The situation in recent years with respect to the wages of the communist army cadres will be analyzed later.

1. Wage standards before adjustment: the standards for the wages of cadres of the communist army's cadres are shown in detail on the following table:

Post Wage			Grade Wage		Total	
Administrative Posts	S&T, lit&art	Sports Scale	Standard (yuan)	Admin Grade	Standard (yuan)	
Division	grade 6	grade 2	66.00	grade 14	112.00	178.00
Deputy Division	grade 7	grade 3	59.00	grade 15	102.00	161.00
Regiment	grade 8	grade 4	52.00	grade 16	92.00	144.00
Deputy Regiment	grade 9	grade 5	45.00	grade 17	82.00	117.00
Battalion	grade 10	grade 6	40.00	grade 18	72.00	112.00
Deputy Battalion	grade 11	grade 7	35.00	grade 19	65.00	100.00
Company	grade 12	grade 8	30.00	grade 20	58.00	88.00
Deputy Company	grade 13	grade 9	25.00	grade 21	51.00	76.00
Platoon	grade 14	grade 10	20.00	grade 22	44.00	64.00
Deputy Platoon	grade 15	grade 11	15.00	grade 23	37.00	52.00

2. Wage standards after adjustment: In July 1985, the Chinese communists decided to readjust the wages of the communist army's cadres. Although detailed figures on the scale of the readjustment have not yet been formally announced, we can get an inkling of them from a speech given in July 1985 by Zhang Zhixiu [1728 9455 4403], commander of the "Kunming Military Region," at a "military region work conference." He said: "With regard to wage reform, on the original basis the wage of a company cadre will be increased by about 25 yuan, that of a battalion cadre by about 35 yuan, that of a regiment cadre by about 55 yuan, and that of an army- and higher-level cadre by about 60 yuan." Calculated in accordance with this adjustment, at the present stage the monthly wages for cadres of the communist army's units are approximately: division, 232 yuan; regiment, 189 yuan; battalion, 147 yuan; and company, 113 yuan. Note: After the communist army's "streamlining and reorganization," the battalion and company deputy posts will be abolished, and the original 76 kinds of posts for which cadres were responsible will be held by specialized noncommissioned officers or volunteer soldiers.

#### B. Wages of Volunteer Soldiers

Wages for volunteer soldiers of the communist army began to be put into effect on 1 January 1979. According to the Chinese communists, this was a new kind of wage system that integrated the supply system with the wage system. Wages are divided into eight scale grades, the standards of which are: first grade, 113 yuan; second grade, 101 yuan; third grade 90 yuan; fourth grade, 79 yuan; fifth grade, 69 yuan; sixth grade, 59 yuan; seventh grade, 49 yuan; and eighth grade, 41 yuan.

#### C. Conscript Allowances

Fighters (conscripts) do not get wages, only allowances. Their allowances are based on the number of years in service and are divided into six standards. After the adjustment on 1 July 1985, the amounts of money are: first year, 12 yuan; second year, 13 yuan; third year, 14 yuan; fourth year, 17 yuan; fifth year, 23 yuan; and sixth year, 30 yuan. (Before adjustment the standards were respectively: 10 yuan, 11 yuan, 12 yuan, 14 yuan, 19 yuan, and 24 yuan).

#### D. Post Allowances

On 15 September 1985, the Chinese communists' JIEFANGJUN BAO disclosed: the communist army's General Staff Department and General Political Department have issued a notice stipulating that, after the new wage system is put into effect, all personnel who, in accordance with the establishment, are formally appointed to noncommissioned officer and squad leader posts will be given post allowances. Starting on 1 July 1985, the notice said, the personnel who are given post allowances are noncommissioned officers and squad leaders are as follows:

1. Those given noncommissioned officer post allowances: deputy squad leaders, full and deputy fendui commanders, captains and first mates of fifth-grade ships (boats), full and deputy regional unit commanders (not including cadets who are taking turns to concurrently act in this post), company

quartermasters, and chiefs of 200-watt and higher singleband radio stations and 400-watt and higher radio stations.

2. Those given squad leader post allowances: tank commanders, sentry post chiefs, film projection team chiefs, chiefs of weather observation teams, chiefs of weather forecast teams, chiefs of 15-watt and 150-watt radio stations, chiefs of printing (typing) teams. quartermasters, ordnance (equipment, POL) personnel and concurrently clerks, and battalion and company clerks.

Note: Post allowances were an emergency measure to solve the problem of "remuneration not being in line with labor" during the communist army's "reform of the cadre wage system." It has now been learned that the post allowance for noncommissioned officers is 3 yuan (Renminbi).

As everybody knows, 1985 was precisely the year in which the momentum of the Chinese communists' reforms was superficial and in which much consumption and the loss of control of funds was most serious. Under the circumstances in which all financial and economic operations had fallen into a difficult plight, to adjust upward the wages of an enormous number of armymen was an unwise move in complete violation of the laws of normal economic development. Obviously, under the pounding of extraordinary changes in the supply and marketing of markets and the steady rise of prices, there was no way that the communist army's original wages could maintain the bare necessities of life. This fact led to serious consequences and forced the Chinese communists to give it their full attention. Thus, they went ahead and took this expedient measure to adjust wages. In the communist army from top to bottom there is a trend of "looking for money," and there are signs of corrupt practices in the mutual competition to get extra income by improper means. The scope of this wage adjustment obviously cannot keep up with the rate of increase of the price fluctuations, and the situation is going from bad to worse with the standard of living even worse than it was under the former wages. In pursuit of the rationalization of the needs of life, the communist army had better not choose means that challenge discipline. Although corrupt evil practices are a traditional specific characteristic of the Chinese communists' socialist system, they are not unrelated to the state of affairs for many years in which wages and benefits were excessively low, which caused life to be excessively arduous.

### III. Class Differences in Communist Army's Welfare Benefits

On the basis of the units' specific characteristics, missions, and the different environmental conditions where they are stationed, the communist army's mess (staple and nonstaple foods and fuel costs) supply criteria are divided into certain different quantitative categories and mess distinctions. Among them then the Army's service messes are divided into 5 types, the Navy's into 3 types, and the Air Force's into an air service mess and a ground service mess. Also, based on the different food supply proportion in regions and the differences in the prices of food, as well as the different prices of nonstaple foodstuffs and fuel, there is a division into 12 fixed sums for the accounting value of types of goods. It is stipulated that all units in the communist army will have ration standards for the various types of mess food

where they are stationed. The standards stipulated for the mess supplies of army service personnel and the communist army are concisely given as follows:

Table 1. Differentiation of Food Rations for Army Service Personnel

Ration	Personnel
45 jin per person per month (15 liang per day)	1. fighters and cadres of fendui below the battalion level; 2. warehouse storekeepers; 3. workers in the establishment who do heavy physical labor.
42 jin per person per month (14 liang per day)	boatmen of inland waters flotillas
38 jin per person per month (12.5 liang per day)	1. cadres and establishment staff of organizations at the army level and below, division hospitals, and regiment medical teams; 2. cadres and establishment staff of border defense county people's armed forces departments; 3. organization cadres and establishment staff of railway and engineering construction command posts and of base command posts; 4. organization cadres and establishment staff of warehouses at the regiment level and above; 5. cadres and establishment staff of supply stations and depots under the level of branch department and depot headquarters; 6. military representatives stationed in factories and in railway subbureaus, shipping subbureaus, provincial shipping management bureaus, and posts; 7. roving medical teams of independently organized messes; and 8. establishment workers who do light physical labor.

35 jin per person per day  
(11.5 liang per day)

1. organization cadres and establishment staff of county (city) people's armed forces departments, provincial military districts, garrison districts, guard districts, military region air forces, naval fleets, and service arms and headquarters of military regions;
2. cadres and establishment staff of college and academy organizations, hospitals, cadre rest centers, and scientific research units.
3. organization cadres of general headquarters, military regions, offices (bureaus) sent out by service arms, and branch headquarters;
4. military representatives stationed in military transport offices of railway bureaus and shipping management bureaus;
5. armed forces cadres of national defense industry offices.

Food Subsidies

1. In fendui below the battalion level stationed in the Northeast region, in army service messes there is a subsidy of 7 qian [35 grams] per person per day; the cadres purchase the food at the quoted price while the fighters are given the food at the quoted supply.
2. When organization cadres of warehouses at the regiment level and above take part in loading and unloading work, they are given a subsidy of 2 liang in purchased food per person per day.
3. If the food for organization cadres is insufficient, they are given a subsidy from produced food. The specific methods for this are determined by the logistics departments of military regions and service arms in line with the "methods for managing food produced by the armed forces."

Notes:

1. Female fighters who take their meals in the messhalls of organization cadres are given the same rations as the organization cadres.
2. Cadres recuperating in cadre rest centers are given their own original rations;
3. Within the scope of the stipulated rations, the food for establishment workers is adjusted by the logistics departments of the military region and the service arms with reference to the food rations for personnel in the localities doing the same type of work. The relationship between the establishment staff's permanent residences and food is in the localities, and the food is supplied by the localities.
4. The logistics departments of the military regions designate the border defense county people's armed forces departments that get a ration of 38 jin.

Table 2. Standards for Rations of Nonstable Foodstuffs and Fuel in Various Types of Army Service Messes. (liang per day)

Name of Article	Mess Categories				
	category 1	category 2	category 3	category 4	category 5
edible oil	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.8
soybean	0.7	1	1	1.2	1.3
meat	0.8	1.2	1.9	2.5	3
vegetables	15	15	15	1.5	15
white sugar	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.5
condiments	1	2	2	2	3
coal	10	14	14	14	20

Notes:

1. In units on plateaus there is an additional 0.6 qian of tea per person per day.
2. For organization cadres and establishment staff at the regiment level and above, there is a ration of 1.2 jin of edible oil per person per day, and other nonstaple foods and fuel are supplied as per category 2 mess.
3. The supply of edible oil and soybeans for the messes of injured and sick personnel and for guest houses at all levels are handled according to the provision of the "methods for supply of military food."

C. Differentiation of Personnel in All Categories of Army Service Messes

1. Personnel in category 1 messes: ordinary fighters or cadres who are working in fendui below the battalion level and taking their meals with the fighters. (The number of persons in this category of messes account for 60 percent of all persons in the army.)

2. Personnel in category 2 messes: support fendui directly under special artillery regiments, special repair fendui, and survey technical fendui; fendui training in the field, and field oil pipeline fendui and engineer camouflage fendui during the period they are carrying out their mission; platoon bridge fendui in units below the army level during the period they are conducting pontoon bridge training or carrying out pontoon bridge-laying missions; full-time guard fendui and full-time workers during a long period of working in underground projects (the specific units are deterred by the logistics departments of military regions and service arms and by the management bureaus of general headquarters); 20 men working in scattered fendui below the company level or a small number of fighters below the level of two organic squads (including cadres taking their meals with the fighters, but excluding personnel in military industry and in agricultural and sideline production); and 20 men or a small number of fighters below the level of two organic squads who are scattered in the organization and cannot have an independent mess but must take their meals in the cadre mess.

3. Personnel in category 3 messes: special swimming training fendui during their period of swimming training and students in swiming backbone element training classes run by units at the division level and above; combat fendui below the battalion level in special artillery regiments; armored infantry companies with armored vehicles and command companies with tanks and armored vehicles (when the company organizes a unified mess); ship (boat) repair fendui; and students in bugler training classes run by units at the regiment level and above.

4. Personnel in category 4 messes: tank and self-propelled gun repair fendui.

5. Personnel in category 5 messes: tank and self-propelled gun fendui and students in tank crew training bases (regiments); crews of inland waters flotillas and personnel accompanying the flotillas to perform missions (their standards are those of ground zhongdui stationed locally, and they are determined by the logistics departments of military regions and service arms); and students in sports backbone elements training classes run by units at the division level and above.

6. Personnel in messes for injured and sick personnel; injured and sick personnel and convalescing personnel in hospitals (including division hospitals and regiment sanitariums) and sanitariums.

D. Different Standards for Units Stationed on Border Defense, Islands, and Plateaus and Organization Messes

1. Units and organizations:

a. For those stationed on border defense, islands, and other special regions where living conditions are arduous, there are army service category 2 messes.

b. For those stationed on border defense, islands, and plateaus where weather conditions are poor and living conditions are arduous, there are army service category 3 messes.

c. For those in plateau regions, where the air is thin and weather conditions are poor, there are army service category 5 messes.

2. Operational service stations (observation, signal, communications, radar, and technical reconnaissance stations):

a. For operational service stations stationed on large islands and on coastal salients and coastal mountains, there are army service category 2 messes.

b. For operational service stations stationed in category 3 mess areas and which operate all year round on plateaus and in tunnels, there are army service category 3 messes.

The logistics departments of military regions determine the abovementioned areas of mess category with the approval of the heads of the armies in the military region. Among them, areas for plateau category 3 messes should generally be where the plateau is 3,500 meters or higher, and areas for plateau category 5 messes should generally be where the plateau is 4,000 meters or higher. All other units (fendui) that are stationed with border defense units will have the same area mess facilities.

For other border defense first-line companies, when they are on patrol, concealing themselves, or making on-the-spot surveys, there is an additional allowance (0.4 yuan in Renminbi per person per day). Units stationed on border defense sentry posts on plateaus 4,000 meters above sea level and higher, and units and organizations stationed on plateaus 4,500 meters above

sea level and higher, get an allowance per person per day of 2 liang of fruit, 2 qian of edible oil, and 2 qian of white sugar.

#### E. Mess Standards for Construction Units

1. When they are engaged in surface construction in an army service category 1 area, they are given army service category 2 messes. If they are engaged in construction inside caves, they are given army service category 3 messes.
2. For units engaged in construction in army service category 2 areas, there are army service category 3 messes. If they are doing construction inside caves they are given army service category 4 messes.
3. For units engaged in construction in army service category 3 mess areas there are army category 4 messes. If they are engaged in construction inside caves, they are given category 5 messes.
4. The mess arrangements for units engaged in construction in plateau category 5 mess areas remain unchanged, but there is an allowance per person per day of 2 liang of fruit, 2 qian of edible oil, and 2 qian of white sugar.
5. During the construction, there is an allowance person per day of 2 liang of supplied rations, with the proportion in variety set by the basic ration.

#### F. Food Rations and Mess Fund Standards for Students in Army Academies and Colleges and in Academies and Colleges of the Same Nature as the Former

##### 1. Mess standards:

- a. Army service category 2 messes: students in army schools; students in political or logistics schools; students in foreign language, military medical, or veterinarian colleges; and students in command and specialized technical colleges for branches and arms of the service at general headquarters (not including students in colleges that have army service category 3 messes or higher). Students in higher army schools get an additional allowance (before 1985 it was 0.05 yuan Renminbi per person per day; now it is 0.1 yuan).
- b. Army service category 3 messes: students in military, political, or logistics colleges; students studying Second Artillery Corps specialities in related colleges.
- c. Army service category 4 messes: students in armored corps colleges and armored corps technical colleges (when they are studying foundation courses in college classes they are given army service category 2 messes).
- d. Army service category 5 messes: students in tank schools and armored corps technical colleges; students in military sports colleges (the standards for students in the sports department are the same as those for specialized physical work teams).

e. For art colleges they are army service category 2, 3, and 4 messes, and they are differentiated as follows: for students and creative studies personnel in literature, fine arts painting, and cadre refresher courses, there are army service category 2 messes; for students in traditional opera, stage, fine arts, and dance and fine arts courses, and groups and members of bands (excluding wind bands), there are army service category 3 messes; and for students of the dance and wind music and for members of bands and wind bands, there are army service category 4 messes.

## 2. Food Rations

a. A total of 45 jin per person per month (15 liang per day): students of army schools and higher army schools; students in specialized technical schools of general headquarters and of the branches and arms of the service (excluding students in college and schools that get a ration of 40 jin); students in chemical defense, ordnance technical, and sports colleges; and sports instructors in all colleges and schools.

b. A total of 40 jin per person per month (13 liang per day): students in political, logistics, and signal communications schools; students in foreign languages, military medical, and meteorological colleges; and students in command and specialized technical colleges of the general headquarters and the branches and arms of the service (excluding college students who get the 45-jin ration).

c. A total of 35 jin per person per month (1.5 liang per day): students in military, political, and logistics colleges.

Note: Instructors and student class cadres of colleges and schools get the same food rations as the students.

## IV. Confused State of Mess Management

Although the communist army has formulated rules for mess standards, because of the long period that it has been in the plight of materiel deficiency, coupled with the fact that cadres are corrupt and there is embezzlement at all levels, the mess quality of the great number of basic-level units has never been able to attain the stipulated standards. In recent years because of the effect of skyrocketing prices on the communist army, the units' mess standards have fallen even further. Especially after the "streamlining and reorganization," with the abolishment of deputy posts for cadres in battalions and companies, the company quartermaster posts being filled by volunteer soldiers, and the pounding taken by cadres faced with separation or retirement, the majority of them are dissatisfied with their jobs, causing the confused situation in which there are "hanging gaps" in basic-level logistics building. In particular, the abuses engendered by the mess problem are serious. The situation is briefly related below.

### A. Exchanging Views on the So-Called "One and a Half Jin Plus Four Liang"

Although in recent years the communist army's mess expense standards have been adjusted several times, they are still extremely limited and have never been

able to keep up with the rise in prices. In addition, the basic-level cadres have privately "used economic means to manage units," going in a big way for "local policies" that "get money by improper means from the fighters themselves." The mess officers "have pay not worth seeing," "make duplicate applications for reimbursement of purchased articles," and "use public office for private gain." Provisioners use false receipts to report fewer and get more mess expenses through graft. These and other prevailing unhealthy tendencies have caused laxness in basic-level mess management and confusion in the order of those taking meals in messhalls, with the result that the soldiers' camps are insufficiently provided for, seriously affecting the study, training, and work of the communist army's units.

In March 1985, the communist army's "General Logistics Department" held a "conference of all supply office chiefs in the army," and, focusing on the units' mess problem, said: "We must concretely implement the mess management system, strengthen the management of funds and of staple and nonstaple foodstuffs, and correct the unhealthy tendencies of embezzling mess expenses and of encroaching on the soldiers' interests." It revealed serious malpractices in the communist army's basic-level units, and they are unable to coordinate with the demands for "armed forces modernization": From August to October of the same year, the communist army's "General Logistic Department's" director, Hong Xuezhi [3163 1331 2535], inspected the coastal defense units of the "Shenyang" and "Jinan" military regions and the logistics units of the "Wuhan Military Region." As a result, he discovered the malpractices that in all the units the use of income from agricultural and sideline production was irrational, and that the proportion of this income used to improve the units' life was irrational. (After the Chinese communists began from 1980 to take measures to reduce military expenditures, the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee ordered the army to begin, with forms of self-reliance, agricultural and sideline production and business to collect "family property" bit by bit--"which means the surplus kept by the units in all previous years. It is composed of two parts. One part is the budget outlay surplus transformed "with 1 year as the limit; the other part is extra-budget income obtained by the units themselves, 'like production incomes or unit miscellaneous income.' The army regards this 'family property' as its reserve financial resources. Under the premise of reducing military expenditure, it is needed to supplement a given year's financial resources and to deal with emergency situations." (It makes up for insufficiencies in funds for building the armed forces' basic level and improves the units' supply of daily necessities.) Soon afterward, from 5 to 9 October, the communist army held an "all-army conference of logistics department directors." At the conference, Yang Shangkun [2799 1424 2494], vice chairman of the communist army's [as published] Central Military Commission, stressed that "income must be increased and expenditures must be decreased. In arranging the units' production and life, production income should mainly be used to improve the life of the soldiers and the basic-level cadres." This showed that there was serious waste of the communist army's production income and that they were not yet used for welfare allowances in basic-level companies. Obviously, the chain reaction touched off by the lack of care for life in the basic-level companies of the communist army has had a profound effect, forcing the communist army's leadership stratum to give it their full attention.

On 25 October 1985, Hong Xuezhi, director and concurrently political commissar of the communist army's General Logistics Department, publicly confessed: "At present, in accordance with existing standards, units at all levels--no matter whether for grain, vegetables, edible oil, or meat--need subsidies. Especially during the current adjustment of prices, with the mess expenses of the units they are often unable to purchase the stipulated food rations, causing a large-scale drop in standards." He also stressed: "The units are now relying on the method of walking on 'two legs' to solve the mess problem: one 'leg' is, in line with what is permitted by their funds, to raise as much as possible the mess expense standards; and the other 'leg' is for each unit to vigorously develop agricultural and sideline production in an effort to solve the problem itself." At the same time he said: "The results of agricultural and sideline production by units at all levels should mainly be used to improve life in the units, especially the life of basic-level cadres and fighters, so as to gradually attain the standard in which every person every day eats 1 liang of meat, 1 liang of bean products, 1 liang of poultry, fish, or eggs, and 1 jin of vegetables." Subsequently the "all-army work conference on production and business income" held by the communist army from 4 to 12 November formally stipulated that "70 percent of production income should be used to subsidize life in basic-level companies, and secondarily to subsidize insufficiencies in operating expenses." It also drew up the plan for the army within this year (1986) to build 72 medium-sized and large specialized aquatic breeding bases with the hope of being able to rely on the method of walking on "two legs" to attain the supply goal of relying on "itself" to solve the mess problem.

In December 1985, an "all-army logistics work conference," formally made the decision "to achieve the nonstaple food supply goal of "1 and one-half jin plus 4 liang per person within 2 or 3 years," and called for "insuring that each cadre and soldier eat each day "1 and one-half jin of vegetables, 1 liang of meat, 1 liang of bean products, 1 liang of poultry, fish, or eggs, and 1 liang of animal or vegetable oil."

#### B. Adjustment of Mess Expense Standards

It is reported that to attain the goal of "1 and one-half jin plus 4 liang" a minimum subsidy of 0.3 yuan from production income must be given to each cadre and soldier per day, and also that the army service category 1 messes, which account for 60 percent of the total, must, on the existing basis, be raised two mess grades.

Beginning in 1986, focusing on the goal set forth by the "General Logistics Department," all large units in the communist army formulated plans to achieve it and organized forces to start work on it. At the same time, the communist army's "General Logistics Department" sent work teams to do "Nanjing and Shenyang" military regions, where they organized experimental points and gave concrete guidance. According to a 28 January 1986 report in RENMIN QIANXIAN BAO, on 1 January 1986 the "Nanjing Military Region" raised its mess expenses for soldiers: all army service category 1 messes were given an additional 0.21 yuan in Renminbi per person per day, so that the minimum mess expense reached 1.15 yuan; for units on offshore islands and in areas where life was difficult, there was an increase of 0.51 yuan per person per day, so that the

mess expense reached 1.76 yuan; for injured and sick personnel and recuperating personnel in hospitals, except for those hospitals that had category 5 messes, there was an increase in mess expense of 0.61 yuan per person per day so that the mess expense reached 2.34 yuan; and after the mess standards were raised, cadres who took their meals with the soldiers got 0.5 yuan per person per day in accordance with the original regulations.

According to a 7 February 1986 report in the communist army's RENMIN WUJING BAO, based on a decision by the CPC Central Committee's Military Commission, the people's armed police units adjusted their mess expenses of each category on 1 January 1986. The adjusted standards are:

1. All categories of mess expenses contain meat price subsidies and grain vouchers (including the increased grain vouchers that the units had in the past). For cadres and establishment staff that do not have separate messes, meat price subsidies are issued in line with their wages under the existing standards.
2. For students in colleges and schools that have army service category 2 messes, the mess expense studied is fixed on the basis of the existing armed service category 2 mess standards, and there is a subsidy of 0.5 yuan per person per day. There is no subsidy for students in colleges and schools with other categories of messes. For students in local colleges and schools in the three municipalities of Beijing, Tianjin, and Shanghai, if the meat price subsidy is of a higher standard than that in the unit, they will get the subsidy at the local standard. The mess expense standard for students in training units and rotational training units is that of colleges or schools of the same nature.
3. The mess expenses for injured and sick personnel and recuperating personnel in people's armed police hospitals (including clinics and medical units) are fixed on the basis of the existing army service category 5 messes, and also there is a subsidy of 0.6 yuan per person per day.
4. Based on the armed forces' principle of dividing mess expenses into category areas, the mess expenses for each zhongdui is determined by its own category area of mess expenses. The mess expense standards of colleges, schools, and units directly under a zongdui, and the mess expense standards of people's armed police units in hydroelectric, communications, and gold [as published] command posts, are fixed in accordance with the regulations of the provincial (city, district) people's armed police zongdui.

The communist army's "General Logistics Department" also issued a notice stipulating that the mess standard of recruits during their training in coaching regiments be raised to that of "army service category 2 messes," and that the "lowest class area" be increased from the original 1.15 yuan to 1.28 yuan; while the "highest class area" be increased from the original 1.8 yuan to 1.93 yuan.

### C. Demand for Strengthening the Units' Mess Management

In the last part of January 1986, the communist army's "three general departments" jointly issued a directive on "strengthening the units' mess management." Focusing on the shortcomings in the armed forces' mess management work, the directive set forth provisions related to the management, and called on leading cadres at all levels to regard good mess management as an important task to be done. The important points in the directive include:

1. "Leaders and headquarters, political and logistics organizations of units are required to work in unison on mess management. In a company or basic-level unit one leader must take charge of the mess, and he must select the noncommissioned officers, provisioners, and cooks for the mess. Their ideological education must be enhanced so that they become very familiar with their profession, abide by law and discipline, and dare to resist unhealthy tendencies."
2. "Get a good grip on the implementation of all mess management systems, that is, insist on the recipe formulation, kitchen duty and help in the mess kitchen, material objects check and acceptance, day-by-day consumption registration, dietary hygiene, and other systems."
3. "Uphold the three "not permits," namely, do not permit the purchase by soldiers of staple and nonstaple foodstuffs from the supplies of the mess units, do not permit the use of mess expenses and production income for entertaining guests and sending presents, and do not permit the use of mess expenses for non-mess expenditures. The management of nonstaple foodstuffs and vegetable procurement must truly be enhanced. The system of economic committee meetings must be perfected, and there must be regular examinations of accounts with the results announced monthly."
4. "Agricultural and sideline production must be vigorously enhanced, so as within 2 or 3 years the nonstaple foodstuff supply goal of '1 and one-half jin plus 4 liang' is attained. Units at the regiment level and above must withdraw some funds and use them to help solve the problem of complete sets of production and living facilities at the basic level."
5. "Production income must be rationally used. Except for income that is now set for use in repaying loans and expanding production, this income should mainly be used to improve the life of the soldiers and the basic-level units. Sparetine production income must only be used to improve messes."

### D. Distortion and Deterioration of "1 and one-half Jin Plus 4 Liang"

After the communist army's "General Logistics Department" set forth for the entire army the goal of achieving "1 and one-half jin plus 4 liang" within 2 or 3 years, during the process of trying to do this by units at all levels in the communist army, there appeared in them a vying for "luck" and a pursuit of "trends," and a proneness for being flashy and without substance, seeking undeserved reputations, and making boasts and exaggerating things. The relevant situation as revealed solely by the Chinese communists' JIEFANGJUN BAO is described briefly as follows:

1. On 15 March of this year (1986), this newspaper reported: During their work to achieve "1 and one-half jin plus 4 liang," in the armed forces there appeared, in order to vie for "luck," the phenomenon at all levels of "goal attainments" ahead of time. When the General Headquarters' goal of attaining "1 and one-half jin plus 4 liang" within 2 or 3 years arrived in the subordinate levels they put the time ahead. The armies made it 1 year, the divisions and regiments made further demands, and the battalions and companies whittled the time down to several months. The higher levels raised the quotas layer by layer and the basic-level companies boasted and exaggerated. The 1st Company of a certain battalion said it would attain the goal in 6 months, the 2d company of the battalion made it 5 months, and some units crisply announced: "We've already attained the goal." An investigation showed that they had adopted the method of "killing the goose that lays the golden egg," taking out surplus that had been accumulated over the years and funds for developing reproduction to buy "1 and one-half jin plus 4 liang."

2. On the same day the newspaper came up with another revelation: The companies of a certain group army had surplus mess expenses that they did not have the right to use. Since they were unable to use the surplus, they deposited it in a bank account at book value. The reason they did have any money on hand to spend was that the regiment controlled the right to use the money. The regiment said that the division had not allocated the money. An investigation showed that the regiment had grabbed part of it and that the division had also misappropriated a part. As a result, the companies had money but could not spend it, their bank deposit turned into a "flower in the mirror," and "1 and one-half jin plus 4 liang" became an empty slogan.

3. On 20 March the newspaper pointed out: In the units of the communist army's "Nanjing Military Region," during the process of achieving "1 and one-half jin plus 4 liang" there exist the following problems:

- a. Because of overanxiousness for quick results, there have appeared symptoms of setting unrealistically high quotas and short times.
- b. By making a rash advance in an individual project, the units neglected their overall construction, creating a terrific din, swarming in, and boasting and exaggerating.
- c. They onesidedly emphasized production and life, slackened off on education and training, and contended with each other for time and people.
- d. They thought that money was the key to achieving "1 and one-half jin plus 4 liang." In the name of working to help the people, some units tore down houses and dug up land for the localities and then demanded payment. On the pretext of cultivating dual-purpose talents, some units sent soldiers out to repair clocks and watches and electrical appliances in order to get income. Some companies even opened shops and set up stalls, and sent fighters to run about and engage in supply and marketing. Military and political education and training and the normal work of the units were adversely affected, and the armed forces' reputation was tarnished.

## V. Currently Existing Problems

### A. Problems in Basic-Level Logistics

The problems existing in the communist army's basic-level logistics are extremely serious. A fairly typical case was published by the Chinese communists' JIEFANGJUN BAO on 18 March 1986, a summary of which follows:

A "survey of a hundred companies" conducted on more than 220 companies by the Logistics Department of the communist army's "Beijing Military Region" discovered that the true situation in current building of logistics at the communist army's basic level was that "there were fewer successes than had been reported and more problems than had been imagined." According to this department's comprehensive survey report, the principal problems were:

1. The mess standards were low and the variety in meals was monotonous: in some companies, only 0.73 yuan was spent per person per day on meals, 25.5 percent below the standard; and no attention was paid to adjusting the mess, with the result that for several months there were no steamed stuffed buns and dumplings to eat, and on many days the nonstaple foodstuffs were basically "first, native (beans); second, foreign (cabbage); and third, radishes."
2. The living facilities were not formed into complete sets, and there was a serious loss of public property: in 90 companies, 8,568 pieces of barracks furnishings were counted as missing, 37.7 percent of the total that there should have been. For example, the 1st Artillery Company of a certain regiment had been allocated 96 wooden benches a year ago, but only 27 remained. The soldiers had to stand while eating and to sit on cotton shoes and bricks when holding meetings or viewing motion pictures.
3. Medical facilities were extremely poor, and it was difficult for a soldier to see a doctor or get medicines. For example, of the four battalion medical stations in a certain regiment, three of them did not have sphygmomanometers. A spot check of 48 companies showed that their hygiene management did not meet requirements, and the sterilization of eating utensils and drinking water was not done strictly, thus adversely affecting the soldiers' health.
4. Rules and regulations were not enforced strictly and management was full of holes. In the first half of 1985, a rocket gun company of a certain regiment wrote 195 receipts, but nobody checked and signed for a total of more than 4,300 yuan.

Logistics personnel did not understand their specialities: in the companies the majority of armorers, medics, cooks, and drivers did not have an intimate knowledge of their occupations. For example, of the 28 mess officers in a certain regiment, 16 were new soldiers with less than 2 years of service, and they did not understand how to draw up company mess account tables for public inspection.

## B. Crux of the Problems of Basic-Level Logistics

In the communist army's basic-level units, there exist many malpractices left over by tradition. In recent years, because of the pounding by sudden changes in the social structure and the armed forces' streamlining and reorganization, these malpractices have worsened day by day. Here I will briefly describe the fairly universal situation. According to what was revealed by the Chinese communists' JIEFANGJUN BAO on 30 April of this year (1986), the main reason that the problems in the communist army's basic-level companies are hard to solve are:

1. "Soldiers in the flow" are not "guests who pass by": because of the units' streamlining and reorganization and other reasons, the fluidity of basic-level cadres and soldiers has increased. Company commanders and political instructors change frequently, and the soldiers are demobilized when their term of active service is up. Under these circumstances, there is engendered in company building the idea of temporarily coping with things, an idea which holds that a company is not a place where one stays for a long time and that to go to great trouble in a company is a case of "making bridal gowns for other people." Thus, the slogan "make the company a home" stirs nobody, leading company management to become more slack each day.

2. Consumption is stressed, and extravagance and waste are caused: on the pretext of improving material and cultural life at the basic level, clubs were decorated with lanterns and colored streamers, hanging lamps and ceiling fans were hung in small conference rooms, folding chairs were provided to receive guests, and pots of flowers were placed in living quarters. Some companies bought cotton blankets, umbrellas, and cloth for the fighters, emulating with each other in this respect. This money-spending style had greatly lowered the payout capacity of the companies' funds, with the result that there has been a "tearing down of the east wall to repair the west wall"--a resort to makeshift solutions--which has created many deficiencies in living conditions. Mess personnel do not have the idea of thrift; in some companies, water faucets are turned on day and night without anybody bothering to turn them off, wasting as much as a dozen tons of water a day. With the reason of "suiting the material and cultural life characteristics of the soldiers of the eighties," there is even a blind pursuit of the fashionable lifestyle of "eating well and playing well." This not only has caused many holes in the use of company funds, but also has encouraged even trends and has seriously polluted the ideas and feelings of the cadres and fighters.

3. "Having rules" is incapable of stopping "breaking rules": many companies hang on their walls "the five systems for messhall management" and "the criteria for comparing and assessing advanced messhalls," but mess accounts are still in a mess and kitchen duty exists in name only. In fact, there are rules and regulations for the basic-level management system in the communist army, but the rules are not observed and the regulations are not implemented--they are of no use. Again, the corrosive influence on the armed forces exerted by unhealthy trends in society is also a reason that the rules and regulations in the companies are not implemented and that there are many holes in management. Evil trends have corrupted the thinking of many people. For example, in order to get transferred to volunteer soldier status, a mess squad

leader on over 10 occasions took out more than 100 jin of rice, flour, chicken, fish, meat, and eggs in order to make connections and get in by the back door. This situation has appeared not because no "rules" have been set up but because the rules are not observed.

### C. Unhealthy Trends Run Rampant

#### 1. The Thinking and Ideas of the Communist Army's Basic-Level Cadres

The bad atmosphere brought by the Chinese communists' economic reforms has had a very big effect on the basic-level cadres in the armed forces, the prominent manifestations of which are: the practices of cadres' eating and taking more than their share, sending soldiers to handle their private affairs, having the idea of the "old boy network," and practicing fraud and deceit are fairly rife. To stop these unhealthy trends, the higher level's headquarters, political and logistics organizations have made rule like the "seven impermissibles" and "eight musts." However, many unhealthy trends at the basic level are cases of "checking one gust and stopping one gust" but not stopping the "wind" from blowing. The thinking and ideas of the ordinary cadre in the communist army now are in outline like this: the cadre thinks that to use his power of office to seek private gain, to eat and take more than his share, and to encroach on the fighters' interests are a case of "if you have power and don't use it, it becomes invalid after a specified date." When the cadre receives presents from soldiers, he thinks that they are a token of the fighters' confidence in and respect for him. When the cadre sends soldiers to handle his private affairs, he thinks that this is in the mutual interest of the officers and men. When he stresses the idea of the "old boy network," he thinks it is a case of "comrades being on very intimate terms with each other." When he practices fraud and deceit, he thinks that if he were to speak the truth and report the actual situation he would get a "dressing down," and that if he were boldly to speak the truth he would be a simpleton. (1) (Chinese communists' JIEFANGJUN BAO [LIBERATION ARMY DAILY], 13 Feb 1986).

B. Widespread Phenomena of Law Breaking by Cadres of the Communist Army: They curse and inflict corporal punishment on soldiers, encroach on the soldiers' personal rights, and insult their character; they secretly open the soldiers' letters, encroach on the soldier's economic interests, and receive presents from soldiers, taking bribes in disguised form; and they neglect their duties, retaliate, and write anonymous letters to lodge false accusations.

C. Illegal or Criminal Phenomena by Soldiers in the Communist Army: They go AWOL or evade military service; they form bands to fight and brawl; they privately store up weapons and ammunition; and they disobey orders and wilfully make trouble. (2) (JIEFANGJUN BAO [LIBERATION ARMY DAILY], 16 Apr 1986).

### VI. Conclusion

In September 1981, after Deng Xiaoping set forth the policy of "modernization and regularization" in building the armed forces, the Military Commission of

the CPC Central Committee in succession revised and promulgated the "three major regulations," demanding that the units and organizations in their day-to-day work "handle matters in accordance with the rules and regulations." However, because of the Chinese communists' overanxiousness to reforms the socialist system, which was on the verge of collapse, they paid excessive attention to the change in their strategic policy and neglected the building of the armed forces' basic level. Especially, with the disruption caused by a series of policies and tasks--"curtail military expenditure," "develop production and business," "streamline and reorganize," "train dual-purpose talents," "support economic construction," and "jointly build spiritual civilization"--the armed forces were too busy to pay attention to their own regular development. In addition, the cadres and soldiers at the communist army's basic level have been deeply influenced by the bad atmosphere in society. With the suffering of their arduous life and the enticements of material incentives, the idea of liberalization has been widely engendered among them. They disregard the "rules and regulations" and their concept of discipline is faint, causing malpractices to multiply in the building of the armed forces' basic level. Recently the communist army put stress on "how to implement rules and regulations at the basic level and how to strengthen the building of regularization at the basic level" in an attempt to get a tight grip on basic-level building so as to coordinate it with the modernization of the armed forces. The abovementioned signs alone show that the problems existing at the communist army's basic level are complex and that circumstances make it difficult for the army to achieve what it wants. The Chinese communists themselves have admitted: At present "there is a lack of regulations for building the basic level, the links in work are not sound, the work procedures are not regular, there is a slackness in the companies' work style and discipline, there is a lack of rules and guarantees for the prevention of bad incidents and for the correction of unhealthy trends, management is improper, the relations between the higher and lower levels have deteriorated, and morale is low--all of which has adversely affected and weakened the building of the armed forces' basic level." This is sufficient to show that at the present stage the building of the communist army's basic level not only has bogged down but has even produced a negative effect.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

BLACK HAWK USED IN SICHUAN RESCUE

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Nov 86 p 1

[Article by Yue Lincai [1471 2651 2088]: "Chengdu Military Region Air Force Dispatches 'Black Hawk' To Rescue Injured "]

[Excerpts] Chengdu, 1 November: This morning at 0630, "Black Hawk" helicopter No 5656 of a certain transport regiment in the Chengdu MR Air Force picked up three injured civilians in Dianjiang Xian and carried them to Chongqing Municipal Hospital for treatment.

On 30 October at about 1500, a Dianjiang Xian passenger bus caught fire after a gunpowder explosion, injuring 63 passengers. Two people died and three were in critical condition. When the Sichuan Provincial People's Government received a call reporting the emergency, they immediately asked Chengdu MR Air Force leaders for help early this morning. At 0400, "Black Hawk" helicopter No 5656 was prepared for take-off. Visibility was only 1 kilometer. Without waiting for the weather to improve, Commander Liu Jianhua [0491 1696 5478], pilot Dong Shengli [5516 0524 0448], and navigator Li Jin'an [2621 6855 1344] took off at 0630. With superhuman bravery, intelligence, determination, and skill, the flight crew smoothly carried the three injured to the Chongqing Municipal Hospital after a difficult flight of almost 5 hours and over 1,000 kilometers.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

GUANGZHOU MOTORIZED INFANTRY DIVISION TACTICAL TRAINING

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO OVERSEAS EDITION in Chinese 19 Sep 86 p 4

[Article: "Army's Training System Daily Becoming More Scientific; Combined Arms Training Reaching a High Level"]

[Text] In the Xianhe year of the Eastern Jin Dynasty, General Ge Hong, who was skilled in both literature and military strategy, came to the "first mountain in the area south of the Five Ridges [the area covering Guangdong and Guangxi]" in Guangdong to "discuss the classics and talk about the Way." On the 17th of this month, more than 100 experts from the Chinese armed forces also came here, this time to observe a live exercise in combined arms tactics by a motorized infantry division of the Guangzhou Military Region.

Observing this live combined exercise were: PLA Chief of Staff Yang Dezhi [2799 1779 1807]; PLA Deputy Chief of Staff Han Huaizhi [7281 2037 2535]; and leaders at all levels as well as training department personnel who were attending the all-PLA on-the-spot study meeting on the reform of combined arms tactical training.

JIEFANGJUN BAO said that in this exercise the motorized infantry division was complete in organizations, complete in service arms, and complete in systems of organization. The division- and regiment-level microcomputers and facsimile machines and the artillery rapid reaction command system formed a linked-up network from top to bottom. Following the sound of keys, telephones, and radios, commands and orders were swiftly transmitted to the combat units of all arms. The staff officers, clerks, and assistants sat in front of microcomputers, pressing keys to make tactical calculations and to draw up and transmit dispatches. The motorized infantry, tanks, armored vehicles, chemical defense soldiers, signalmen, as well as logistics men taking part in the exercise coordinated smoothly. The training experts who observed the exercise said that its success indicates // that our army's combined arms tactical training has already reached a high // level. As of now, on the basis of the reform of the past individual and fendui training, there has been formed a fairly scientific system for army training.

Liu [0491], the general director of the exercise and the chief of staff of a certain group army, told reporters: Since the beginning of this year, we have received from the higher level the task of making training reforms in

combined arms tactics. Through experiments and exploration, the division has obtained three results: First, it has reformed its training content, breaking away from the training structure in which all the arms formed their own systems, and forming a system in which the training content is interchangeable for all arms in the Army. Second, it has reformed its training methods by adopting the method of "three completes and one less" (complete organizations, complete service arms, complete systems of organization, and less live soldier and actual equipment), drawing a path for organizations to streamline, effect economic savings, and become fit for actual combat. Third, it has reformed its command procedures, command instruments, and battle dispatches; has changed the headquarters' backward mode of manual operations; and has initially achieved rapid command.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

JILIN MSD EXCHANGES FIELD ARMY CADRES

Shenyang DONGBEI MINBING [NORTHEAST MILITIA] in Chinese No 7, 4 Jul 86 p 14

[Article by Li Guangwu [2621 1684 2976], Wang Laichun [3769 0171 2504], and Zhang Fujun [1728 4395 6511]: "Controlling Ideology, Setting Examples in Professions, and Inquiring About Living Conditions"]

[Text] Since last year Jilin Military Subdistrict and all its subordinate county and district people's armed forces departments have received 57 cadres from field units as exchanges. They have put stress on doing good work on these cadres in three respects: ideological, professional, and life. On 2 April, the Jilin Provincial Military District transmitted their experiences.

Concern for ideology: For cadres who have been transferred from field units to work in the people's armed forces system, there have been changes in work objects, conditions, and environment. So that their thinking will be stable and they will keep their minds on their work at the people's armed forces front, the leaders of the military subdistrict and its people's armed forces departments have paid attention to focusing on their ideological reality. Doing thorough and painstaking ideological and political work, they have educated them to firmly establish the idea of ardently loving and doing well their people's armed forces work. The wife of Zhang Yuntong [1728 6663 6639], a cadre exchanged from Unit 81021, works in the Baishan Hydroelectric Station. Although he has returned to the people's armed forces in his hometown, the couple still lives in two places. He once intended to transfer to civilian work. Tang Guangli [3282 1684 4409], political commissar of the military subdistrict, had a heart-to-heart talk with him, stressing the importance of strengthening the building of national defense forces. This made him strengthen his sense of honor about doing good militia work. He gave up his original idea and made an effort to study assiduously the profession of militia work. He is now doing fairly outstanding work.

Passing on experience and setting examples in professions. They have paid attention to passing on experience, helping, and setting an example for the exchanged cadres, so that the latter will as fast as possible master the skills of militia work. Li Yanwen [2621 1750 2429], staff officer of the Longtan District People's Armed Forces Department, used to be an artillery company commander in a certain unit. After being transferred to his new unit, he began to feel that he could not get up the enthusiasm needed for the work.

Nie Gentian [5119 2704 3944], head of the military section, had him investigate and study the militia's military training in seven factories. He quickly became familiar with the situation and played his role.

Consideration and care in life. The exchanged cadres have some actual difficulties in life. The leader of the military subdistrict and its people's armed forces departments have treated them the same as their own cadres. Without delaying or procrastinating, they have solved by all ways and means the problems that could be solved. With regard to housing and some other problems that for a time cannot be solved, they have made plans and arrangements and are vigorously thinking of ways to help solve them.

Because the Jilin Military Subdistrict and its county and district people's armed forces departments have shown concern for their ideology, given guidance in their professions, and given consideration to their life, the exchanged cadres have even more kept their minds on people's armed forces work, and are devoting themselves heart and mind to contribute their own strength to the building of national defense reserve forces.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

LIUZHOU RESERVE ARTILLERY ON GUANGXI BORDER

Guangzhou MINBING SHENGHUO [MILITIA LIFE] in Chinese No 6, 5 Jun 86 pp 2-3

[Article by Bang Men [6721 7024], Liao Xuan [2436 6513], and Bao Ku [1405 1685]: "Displaying Martial Prowess by Winning Its First Battle; Account of First Operation Against Vietnam by 1st Howitzer Company of Liuzhou Reserve Division"]

[Text] On 17 March, the county seat of Luzhai County in Guangxi was decorated with red silk and was extraordinarily lively. Ten thousand of the masses had come to welcome the triumphant return from the frontline of reserve warriors. In front of flowers and relatives were the 93 officers and men of the 1st Howitzer Company of the Liuzhou Reserve Division, who for the first time had taken part in an operation to punish the Vietnamese Army. Before their eyes, which were brimming with tears, there seemed to appear those days and nights that would be hard to forget....

The Bugle Sounds--They Rapidly Assemble and Rush to the Battlefield

There were still 3 days before the end of the lunar year and precisely at this time the Reserve Artillery Regiment of Luzhai County received an order from the higher level: On the eve of the Lantern Festival, the 1st Howitzer Company is to move out to the Guangxi frontline to perform an operational mission to punish the Vietnamese Army. Military orders are like mountains, and they brook no delay. The regiment immediately issued this order to all the officers and men of the howitzer company.

After the order had been issued, the regiment commander's mind was unsettled, as if he was drawing water with 15 buckets--seven up and eight down. He worried: On this day of jubilation when myriad families were happily getting together to ring out the old year and welcome the new, would these reserve fighters be able to come when they were summoned. Especially, the peasant masses, who always say that "if one doesn't celebrate the Lantern Festival one doesn't celebrate the new year," on this holiday every year, even if they were a thousand li away, would as much as possible hurry back to their families to celebrate the Lantern Festival with them, with the aim of having auspicious family reunions. At such a time, would they be able to leave their families? This time when the unit moved out to the front, it would be fighting the enemy with real guns and live shells. Would the parents, wives, and friends of the

reserve fighters hold them back?... Thinking of these things, Regiment Commander Yu [0060] could not sit still. Early on the morning of the lunar New Year's Day, amid the "pipipapa" sound of firecrackers, he and Ding [0002], the county party committee secretary, trod a path between townships....

Facts proved that Regiment Commander Yu's worries were uncalled-for. After they heard the news that they were to go to the frontline, there was a stir among the reserve fighters. They ran about spreading the news, regarding the fact they would be able to take part in this battle as the greatest honor of their life.

Fighter Liao Yongqiang [1675 0516 1730] of the driver squad is a former Air Force volunteer, and in December last year he had just been transferred to civilian employment. He had originally planned to get married on 16 January. Before the happy event came about, he received the order to take part in the battle. Liao Yongqiang was worthy of those who have come out of a military camp. He did not forget the bounden duty of an armyman, and he resolutely executed the order. After Chen Fengming [3088 7685 7686], his bride-to-be, learned of this, she was a little unhappy. Liao Yongqiang patiently explained things to her, saying with feeling: "Would you really welcome a coward, a deserter spurned by people?" Actually, Young Chen was an educated, politically conscious ardent youth who loved the motherland. It was only that she wanted to complete this important event in her life a little earlier and enjoy family happiness. Listening to her sweetheart, she suddenly saw the light. Exuding tenderness and love, she said: "I will be waiting for you to bring back from the battlefield a medal for military exploits, which will add joy to our wedding." Hearing this, Liao Yongqiang's face broadened into a sweet smile.

Neither Qin Shizhong [6009 0013 1813] nor Wei Bingyi [7279 3521 5902], two fellows of frail physique, were on the rolls. They helped out in the work of the district police station, and each one's monthly wage was more than 60 yuan. Their working and living conditions were comparatively comfortable. After they learned that the howitzer company was to go to the frontline, they each wrote a letter asking to take part in the battle, and every day they went to the district people's armed forces department and used soft and hard tactics to get to the frontline. To attain his aim of getting to the frontline, Ji Junrong [6060 6511 2737] of Zhutong Township used hard tactics when soft methods failed. When he was not given permission, he climbed into a truck and simply got himself put on the roll of those going to the frontline.

Busily Preparing for Battle--Practicing With "Sword and Spear" While on the March

The howitzer company sped along the highway.

Under the covering of his vehicle, as the sound of singing faded, Company Commander Lu Yuqi [7120 5940 3825] pulled out a military map and concentrated his attention on making estimations and drawing lines on the map. This layman, who before the company was assembled had not understood even one map, was clear about his own "foundation" and even more clear about his own status. As commander of a company and commander of its observation post, he had to act

as the good eyes for the company guns. If he didn't understand maps and didn't understand how to plot coordinates, how could he handle things? During the period that the units were being assembled, he received two invitations from a relative and a friend to their weddings. In order not to adversely affect the military training, he graciously declined. At that place, to decline an invitation meant that he was severing his relations with his relative and his friend. However, he thought: Didn't I act this way precisely so that thousands upon thousands of lovers could have harmonious unions and permanent happiness? He believed that in the end his relative and his friend would understand his actions.

Was Computerman Deng Shaozhang [6772 1421 1813], whose eyes were closed as he swayed with the vehicle he was riding in, sleeping? No, he was reciting from memory the "precision methods." Speaking of this computerman, during training he was truly indefatigable! At noon one day during the period of assembly, his father Deng Congkuan [6772 1783 1401] came from his township to see his son. When he entered through the door of his son's quarters he saw him lying on a bed sleeping, but his mouth was opening and closing without stop. Startled, he hurriedly called on him to wake up. He extended his hand and felt his son's forehead, asking: "Shaozhang, are you sick? Why does your mouth move when you are sleeping?" Hearing this, Dong Shaozhang was unable to hold back a laugh. He hastily explained: "Papa, I was reciting from memory calculation methods. Our company commander and the comrades of the command platoon all recite in this way." Hearing this, the old fellow smiled with understanding.

By comparison, the howitzer squad, wireless communications squad, and mess squad did not have the conditions for "training while on the move." Therefore, when the company arrived at its quarters, disregarding their fatigue they made use of every bit of time to drill. The gunners passed heavy shells back and forth, loaded and unloaded them, drilling in one movement a hundred to a thousand times until their hands became calloused. The signalmen of the wired communications squad trained in paying out and gathering in communication lines. They ran until they were covered with sweat and rolled until they were covered with mud. Their hands were scratched and their legs bruised from falling, but they utterly disregarded such things. Although every time they came to a place they could borrow pots and stoves to prepare meals, the "kitchen police" of the mess squad made it hard on themselves by digging smoke stoves themselves, again and again shortening the field cooking time, so as to insure that each meal was served on time and that the food was tasty and delicious.

#### Building Field Works--Turning Sweat Into an Artillery Position

On 2 March, vehicles pulling big guns entered on time the position assigned to them by the higher level. This was a stretch of open terrain with hard ground. The fighters jumped out of their vehicles, unhitched the guns, and immediately rush-built field works, beginning the "battle" before the artillery action....

Mo Youhe [5459 2589 0735], the artillery regiment's deputy political commissar, who was accompanying them into battle, and the young fellows began

work, wielding picks as if they were flying. As time passed he felt he couldn't stand the pace. However, this thin and small director of the county party committee's organization department understood the weight of the words "be an exemplary model" for the fighters. Although his physical strength was poor and three blood blisters developed on his hands, he was unwilling to stop and catch his breath. Wei Xuanlong [7279 1357 7893], leader of the 2d Squad, developed four blood blisters on his hands, one of which broke and bled. After discovering this, a careful medic wanted to apply a little ointment. He not only would not let ointment be applied but also would not let the medic tell anyone about it.

The higher level had stipulated that the field works be built in 6 hours, but in only 3 hours they had finished building the three-dimensional field works. On the bunker walls, they mounted with white stones slogans such as "Win honor for reserve units," "Get the best battle results," and "Establish merit by killing enemies," representing the fighters' aspirations. At this time, the senior officers of the Guangxi Military District came up to ask questions. Senior officers of friendly nearby units, carrying videocorders, and newspaper reporters came up also. Seeing this group of lads bursting with energy, a senior officer of an artillery group praised them: "Oh, they are truly full of drive and daring! They look like a company that can fight!"

Then the comrades carrying cameras and videocorders hurriedly began to use them. With all their heart they took pictures, pictures of the beads of sweat ringing the faces of the gunners! They took as many pictures as they wanted, pictures of the fighters' strong and vigorous figures and their spirit of sharing bitter hatred of the enemy! However, they were asked to hold back some film for the moving scenes that would come later.

#### Roundly Thrashing the Enemy--Unrestrained Joy of the Artillery Fighters

Before the battle the artillery position was extraordinarily quiet. After the commander ordered the first batch of shells loaded, the gunners, in their spread-out stance, held their breath, each standing at his post like a statue. Their eyes were fixed on the position commander--Deputy Company Commander Tan Weizhong [6009 7279 1813]. Tan Weizhong had been an outstanding squad leader in a heroic artillery company that fought at Fakeshan. After being demobilized and returning to his hometown, he had once again come back to the frontline, shouldering the heavy responsibility of a position commander. At this moment his regular-featured long, square face was drawn tight, showing dignity and alertness. With his right hand he raised a small red flag, and his large, round eyes were intently fixed on a stopwatch he held in his left hand. The watch ticked off--3 second, 5 seconds, 10 seconds, 20 seconds .... He brought the small red flag down sharply and shouted, "Fire!" Four guns roared in unison. The position became wrapped in the billowing smoke of gunpowder. Not long afterward from a telephone's earphone came good news from the forward observation post: "Good hit. The first salvo covered the target everybody: 'Comrades, you scored good hits! Two Vietnamese invaders have 'entered the Western Paradise'!!' Immediately the entire position became animated. The tense feelings before the battle had long ago vanished. Each fighter fought at his post in an intense but orderly manner: aiming, loading,

and firing. Round after round of shells flew accurately and unerringly toward the enemy. When the observation post reported a second success--"Five Vietnamese soldiers have been covered by our shells"--the gunners of the 1st Squad could not refrain from jumping up and down. After the commander ordered them to adjust their rear sight, they sobered up and immediately got back in position, continuing to load and fire ....

The entire battle was declared over after only three and one-half minutes, with the good battle result of seven enemies killed, the greater part of the field works in the enemy position destroyed, and no casualties for us, singing a paean of the reserve unit's victory in its first battle.

After the artillery attack was over, officers and men of the frontline units praised the unit: "The reserve forces fought a splendid battle!" and "Don't look on them as a reserve unit; in fighting they are not inferior to us regular forces!" When political and military leaders, Chen Huiguang [7115 6540 0342], secretary of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region CPC Committee; Wei Chunshu [7279 4783 2631], chairman of the autonomous region government; and Li Xinliang [2621 2450 5528], commander, and Xiao Xuchu [5135 2485 0443], political commissar, of the Guangxi Military District, heard the news of the reserve artillery company's victory, they were very happy. While the company was on its way back from the frontline, they made a special trip to its camp to meet with all its officers and men. They urged them to conscientiously sum up their experiences and to perform new meritorious deeds in later battles.

We are proud of the honored reserve fighters!

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

HUANGPU ACADEMY ALUMNI COUNCIL MEETING ENDS

OW140627 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1212 GMT 12 Nov 86

[By reporter He Ping]

[Text] Beijing, 12 Nov (XINHUA)--The second meeting (enlarged) of the Second Council of the Huangpu [Whampoa] Military Academy Alumni Association which ended here today expressed the hope that the academy's cadets and alumni at home and abroad will seek a common grounds, reserve differences on major issues, and work for the motherland's reunification despite their differences in ideology, political views, the systems of the societies they live in, and their life styles.

The meeting lasted 4 days, Hou Jingru, vice president of the Whampoa Academy Alumni Association, gave a summarization speech at today's meeting. He said: Today is the 120th anniversary of the birth of Sun Yat-sen, the great pioneer of the Chinese revolution, and the outstanding founder and commandant of the Huangpu Military Academy. Dr. Sun Yat-sen struggle his whole life for China's independence, freedom, and unification. We are very happy to see that his revolutionary aspirations have been realized under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. As his pupils, we feel extremely proud and honored. What is regrettable is that our country has not been unified. We firmly believe that the motherland's reunification will come true if compatriots at both sides of the strait followed Dr. Sun Yat-sen's teachings.

Today's meeting adopted resolutions on constructing a Huangpu Mansion, setting up a "Huangpu Journal" office, and posthumously appointing Comrade Tian Shen deputy secretary general and council member of the Huangpu Military Academy Alumni Association.

Today's meeting was presided over by Li Moan, vice president of the Huangpu Military Academy. Cheng Zhihua, Zheng Dongguo, and Song Xilian, vice presidents of the association, and 30 council members and representatives attended the meeting.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

HAINAN PLA SUPPORTS LOCALITIES--All air units of the naval force stationed in Hainan Region have vigorously supported economic construction in localities. According to incomplete statistics, since the beginning of this year they have sent some 800 motor vehicles to help localities transport some 5,000 tons of materials of all kinds and sent some 16,700 laborers to help localities reap industrial crops, build water construction projects, repair and build roads some 15,000 meters long, plant some 89,000 trees, and give medical treatment to some 15,600 people. They have also bravely helped localities rush to deal with emergencies by sending out some 120 sorties and rushed to rescue 51 people in distress and to transport some 800 tons of materials of all kinds. [Summary] [Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 21 Nov 86 HK] /8309

SHENYANG PLA HELICOPTER SERVICE--Shenyang, 7 Oct (XINHUA)--The Shenyang Military Region has started a helicopter service to border areas in northeast China on a trial basis. On 16 October, a helicopter landed at its first stop, the site of a border defense company in the northernmost village of Mohe. [Summary] [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0912 GMT 7 Oct 86 OW] /8309

TIANJIN COMMANDER INSPECTS ROAD CONSTRUCTION--On the morning of 22 October, responsible persons and working personnel of the headquarters for construction of the Tianjin perimeter road project under the PLA units stationed in Tianjin headed by Zheng Guozhong, commander of the Tianjin Garrison District; and Yang Zhihua, chief of staff of the district; went to the construction sites in the Dongjiao and Xijiao Districts where army, navy, air force, and armed police forces are engaged in construction work to inspect the construction situation. An on-the-spot meeting was held to define unified construction standards. The PLA units stationed in Tianjin and the armed police forces have undertaken the tasks of dredging rivers and repairing roads by filling the holes, totaling 5,270 meters in length, in Dongjiao and Xijiao Districts. Commander Zheng Guozhong called on soldiers in Tianjin to carry forward the spirit of diverting the Luan He waters to Tianjin and to go all out to make contributions to building a new Tianjin. [Excerpts] [Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Oct 86 p 1] /8309

MILITARY TRAINING SIMULATORS--Beijing, November 19 (XINHUA)--Chinese-made laser and electronic simulation training equipment has drawn the attention of foreign countries, the PEOPLE'S DAILY reported today. China has now produced simulation equipment of major weapons including small arms, tanks, armored cars, guided missiles, indirect fire artillery, fighter planes and anti-aircraft weapons. Some of the equipment, which originated in China, ranks among the most advanced

in the world. To date, more than 30 countries have shown interest in these laser and electronic simulation training devices, and a number of countries have asked to purchase technical data and videotapes of the simulation training. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0820 GMT 10 Nov 86] /8309

MARSHAL XU ADDRESSES HUANGPU ALUMNI--Beijing, November 9 (XINHUA)--Marshal Xu Xiangqian today urged the alumni of the Huangpu (Whampoa) Military Academy to work for China's reunification. At an enlarged council meeting of the Huangpu (Whampoa) Military Academy Alumni Association here today, Xu Xiangqian, who is vice-chairman of the Central Military Commission and president of the association, said that the Huangpu alumni should shoulder the historical task and accomplish something for China's reunification and national prosperity as Dr. Sun Yat-sen demanded. He also welcomed Huangpu alumni residing in Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan and foreign countries and their children and relatives to visit the mainland or conduct economic and cultural exchanges. Graduates from the academy made great contributions in China's democratic revolution and many of them became Kuomintang and communist party generals. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1213 GMT 9 Nov 86] /8309

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TAIWAN

ENVOY TO WASHINGTON URGES TAIWAN TO REUNIFY

OW131010 Beijing XINHUA in English 0854 GMT 13 Nov 86

[Excerpts] Washington, 12 November (XINHUA)--China's ambassador to the United States called on the Taiwan authorities to accept national reunification in accordance with the unfulfilled will of Dr Sun Yat-sen, a forerunner of the Chinese revolution.

At a movie party at the Chinese embassy Tuesday, one of many activities across the country marking the 120th anniversary of the birth of Dr Sun, Ambassador Han Xu said a united motherland is Dr Sun's will.

During his life time, the great revolutionary repeatedly said that China was a country that could not be divided, so reunification is a historical trend and the aspiration of the people, Han added.

The isolation of Taiwan from the Mainland not only goes against the will of Dr Sun but also works against the interests of the people in Taiwan and on the Mainland, Han said. He hoped the Taiwan authorities would accept Beijing's proposed "one country, two systems" concept as a peaceful solution to the separation.

Addressing a New York rally, Consul-General Tang Xinbo recalled Sun's experiences in the United States as he retraced Sun's extensive travels there. Tang lauded the overseas Chinese and Americans who supported Sun in those days.

Tang said the Chinese should learn from Sun and work with overseas Chinese to reunify the motherland, to invigorate China and defend world peace.

After the rally, a feature film on Sun's life was shown and a photo exhibition on the first president was held.

Similar events are held by the Chinese consulate-general in Houston from 12 to 15 November.

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